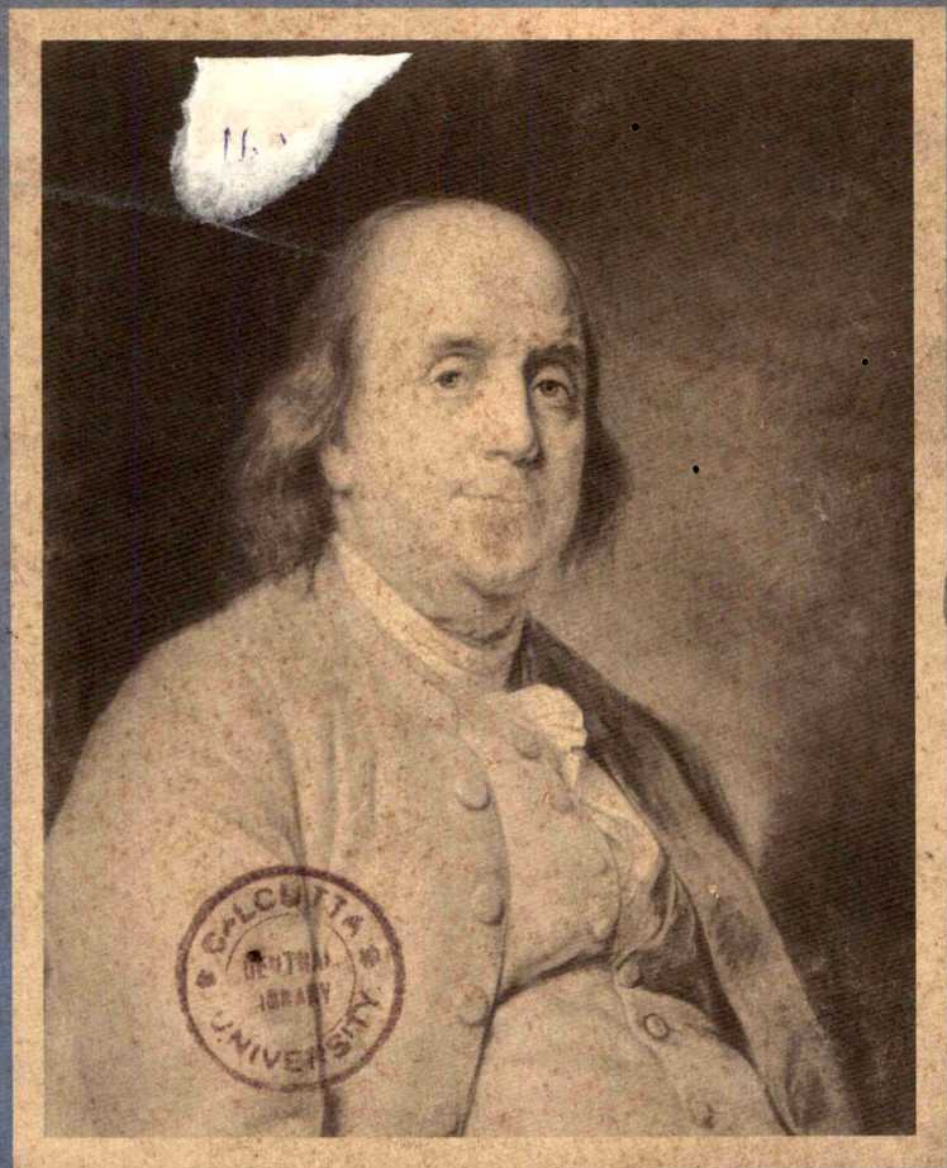


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# Bulletin

OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY



WINTER 1976

John F. Fleming

New York

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## BULLETIN OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

VOLUME 79 · WINTER 1976 · NUMBER 2

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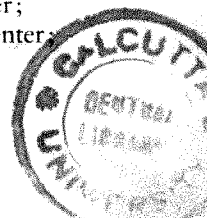
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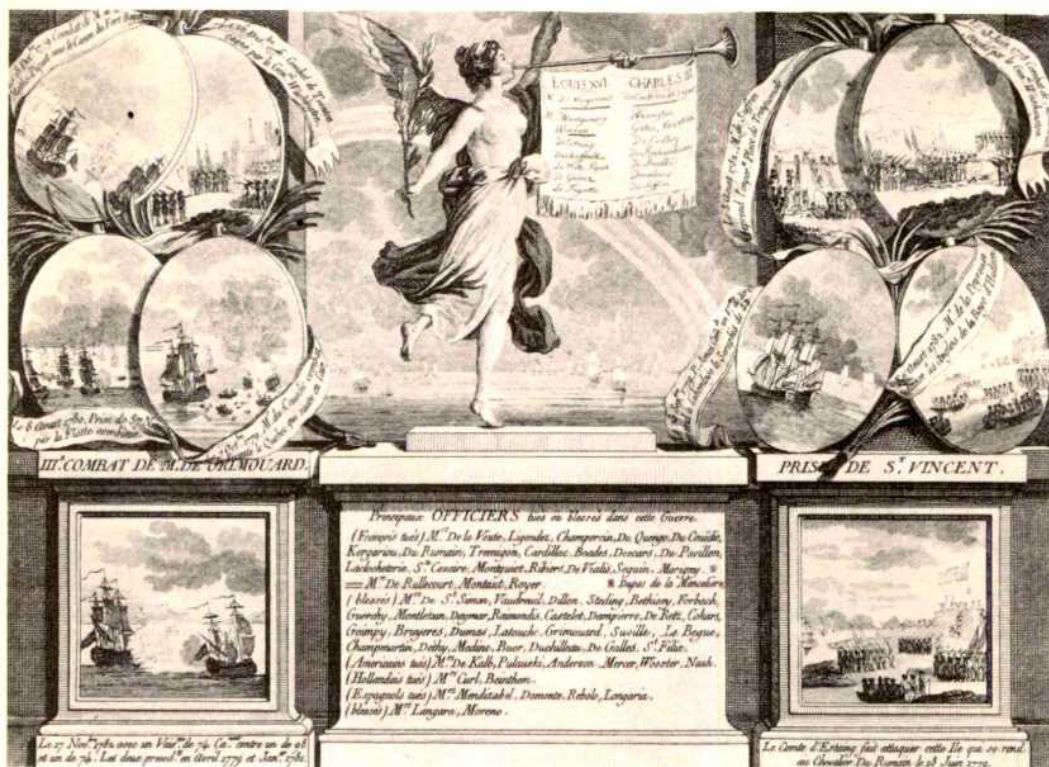
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ON THE COVER: Benjamin Franklin, pastel portrait (1783) by Joseph S. Duplessis (1725–1802), which hangs in the President's Office of the Library. The portrait was the gift of John Bigelow, the Library's first President. Bigelow thought his gift especially appropriate, for Franklin had founded and operated "the first public circulating library ever established." The Duplessis portrait also appears as the frontispiece to a new Library publication, *Independence: A Literary Panorama 1770–1850*, described in Front Matter below; and a selection of rare and notable portraits of one of Ben Franklin's well-known colleagues, from a Prints Division exhibition, "George Washington: His Life and Times," is reproduced further on in this issue, for the delectation of our bicentennial-minded readers.

*Bulletin of The New York Public Library* is published quarterly by The New York Public Library. Editor, David V. Erdman; Managing Editor, William L. Coakley; Assistant Editor, Marilan Lund; Editorial Secretary, Dorothy Petersen. Promotion, Rowe Portis. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. Subscriptions \$12.00 for volume 79, single numbers \$3.50 each. Address subscriptions and related correspondence to Readex Books (A Division of Readex Microprint Corporation), 101 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10003; and editorial, advertising, and all other inquiries to Editor's Office, Room 58, The New York Public Library, Fifth Avenue & 42nd St, New York, NY 10018. Volume 79, number 2 copyright © 1976, The New York Public Library. ISSN 0028-7466. [xii-17-75 22c]



American independence, celebrated in a French work: in this illustration from *Recueil d'estampes représentant les différents évènements de la Guerre qui a procuré l'Indépendance aux Etats unis de l'Amérique* (Paris: Ponce & Godefroy [1784?]), vignettes of the naval battles flank the allegorical embodiment of peace, who is blowing her trumpet and bearing a banner listing "Washington" and others, "Franklin" being added as an afterthought. From *Independence: A Literary Panorama* (see Front Matter, below).

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## FRONT MATTER

### *Creative Historians*

In the essays and illustrations in this issue, questions of historical or biographical truth and fiction arise. We all want truth as well as beauty and humanity in our fictive histories and historical myths, even if the historians have to create it out of unpromising materials. In "Shoulder the Sky" (a title that asserts the beauty and humanity) Mollie Hunter discusses the acceptable levels of truth in historical fiction for children, and the work of unfolding it. The Battle of Culloden demythologized by truth appears at first a charnel horror. But search for the human truth reveals personal histories that are meaningful in today's world. The beauty and humanity have also to be "true" to give us the heart to continue living in it.

George Washington cannot have looked much like any of those idealizing portraits of the General and the President, from our Prints Division collection of which Roberta Waddell has chosen an acceptably true and curious sample ("George Washington: His Life and Times"); yet it reassures us to know that Washington himself submitted to sit for his portrait. Recognizing his duty to us, he disciplined himself to stand between the shafts of iconography in order to fill the wagon of history with a fair load of verisimilitude. (See his letter quoted on page 193.)

Highway robbers were very real in eighteenth-century England, when novel-writing began, but their last-minute confes-

sions as they stood beside the hangman were neither true nor beautiful, we learn from Lincoln Faller's article. Instead they were full of "merry Conceits and pretty Pranks" that were fictive inventions of the pamphlet-writers to fill the need, we may suppose, to keep the public cheerful about using the highways. Here was an almost total severing of real life from printed legend (instant legend at that)—until Daniel Defoe entered the field with skilled fictions that were acceptably true and human. The rope-side pamphlets and the fine gentlemanly and ladylike etchings of "Colonel Jack Robbing Mrs Smith" or "Captain Hind Robbing Colonel Harrison" (using the same stage-like scenery) are matched in American legend (see Carol Strickland's article) by the fictions of "the iconography of mourning" in the graveyard scenes supplied by the fictive folk artist Emmeline Grangerford in the real novel by Mark Twain—fictive author of true histories of humanity.

An interchange between Thomas Carlyle and George Meredith, about how to make history sing, opens Jane Marcus' study of Meredith's historical novel *Diana of the Crossways*. Diana, the goddess identified by a particular Roman shrine, is domesticated into English myth, the interwoven history of which begins with a tale of the portraits of true and fictional women behind Meredith's fictional truth. The title of the novel marks the intersection of "Diana's internal history" with the

history of Meredith's writing of the novel, and it has proved prophetic of the novel's fame, which has peaked at high moments in the history of embattled women (Meredith's subject). These occurred twice in an earlier time and again in ours; the concurrence makes the fiction true and beautiful—or dangerous, we are warned. •

All this creative shaking and reshaping of traditional myths and legends of our memorable past—patriotic tales and icons, high crime and miserable jest, a man's fictional feminism and provocative "truths"—ought to keep us from settling down too comfortably to the Truth as we have known it. Active minds are continually busy getting important matters unsettled and resettled into clearer perspective for us, whether the Battles of Culloden or Trenton and their heritage or the battle for equality and its. What a lively round table it would be, were we able to summon these scholar-authors to a debate about how many facts are acceptable on the point of a pen! Each in her or his way convinces us that we are being brought closer to historical truth, are discovering the contemporaneity of events and movements and persons that seem or have seemed remote in their legendary wrappings and iconic postures.

### *Survival, New York*

"It is literally impossible to view the year just past on a totally cheerful note," writes our President, Richard W. Couper, in the Library's annual *Report*. "For all the institutions about which we know and care are in some kinds of generic and specific distress. We have had our full measure.

"Our Branch Libraries in the boroughs of Manhattan, The Bronx, and Staten Island are, by definition and indeed by contract, to be

fiscally sustained by City funds as modestly supplemented by State aid. These Branches were savaged by a combination of mandated increased accruals (a euphemism for job cuts), job freezes, and, finally, ordered firing."

Libraries have generally ranked low on the City's list of priorities. The job cuts virtually forced upon the Library during the past four years eliminated twenty-two per cent of the staff. The recent layoffs resulted in the reduction of Library hours by over fifty per cent. When it was proposed to accommodate these cuts by closing three large branch libraries, the public outcry was so heartfelt that instead the hours of service were reduced throughout the system.

The Research Libraries experienced their share of distress, one response to the pressure of financial circumstances this year being the closing of all public divisions one day a week in addition to Sunday.

The administration and staff are nevertheless determined not to respond on a totally cheerless note either, but to squeeze as much good as possible from adversity. "We are now," declares President Couper, "in the final planning stages of an articulated, carefully conceived capital campaign for the last half of the decade of the seventies, to meet minimal revitalizing needs for our Research Libraries; and to provide our Branch Libraries with certain programmatic and identifying elements which would not be and never have been possible under tax dollar funding.

### *Recent Publication*

With *Independence: A Literary Panorama 1770-1850*, we join the bicentennial cavalcade in print (our other major entry, a gathering of rare historical prints, will be discussed in a forthcoming issue). *Independence* is an album

recollecting the early history of our national literature, a pictorial tribute to our literary heritage. Sub-titled "A Bicentennial Commemoration of those who labored for an independent American language and literature," this Berg Collection exhibition catalogue records some of the unique and unusual items the Library has to offer in the field. The exhibition itself will be on view in the Berg Exhibition Room from November 18 1975 to September 17 1976.

Fully illustrated with printed and manuscript materials, the catalogue was compiled by Lola L. Szladits, Curator of the Collection, whose entry notes are a source of little-known and striking information on America's literary beginnings. The gallery of portraits of our literary forebears, selected for their atypicality from the usual fare, presents well-known figures in unfamiliar depictions, as well as unfamiliar ones whose pictures are rarely seen: Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Paine in startlingly immediate engravings published in the 1790s, and looking as though they already knew their place in history; Washington Irving, Benjamin Franklin (see the cover of this issue), and Fitz-Greene Halleck in oil portraits owned by the Library; Ralph Waldo Emerson in two cabinet photographs, one showing him as a delicate young man and the other as a pensive, distinguished elder; Henry David Thoreau in a daguerrotype (one of three known) taken in 1856; and a host of others: Poe, Whittier, Holmes, Longfellow, Lowell, and Whitman—and two women, Sarah Josepha Buell Hale and Lydia Huntley Sigourney, who achieved considerable literary fame.

The manuscript and printed materials reproduced in the book give an added depth to the contemporary impression of the portraits. Here are writers at work on their

books and poems or reporting on their lives in letters to friends and relatives, and some of the products of their work, the published pieces. In one letter Paine reports his intention of replying to Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*; in another, John Neal refers to what must have been a common problem for writers of his time: "I have not a copy of Niagara [his book]. It would cost two hundred dollars to make an autograph copy. . . ." We see an autograph draft by Webster for his *Dictionary*, notes Irving took for his *History of New York*, and Whitman's reading notes on Emerson's *Essays*. To give us a glimpse into the private life, on one double-page spread a youthful, romantic Hawthorne appears opposite his handwritten dedication to "Miss Sophia A. Peabody, with the affectionate regards of her friend . . ." on a betrothal copy of his *Twice-Told Tales*. The next pages show the frontispiece Sophia drew for Hawthorne's *The Gentle Boy*, and her sketch of "Mamma."

*Independence* calls to mind the uncertain births of some of the works which have grown more vigorous with passing time: the first appearance of Poe's "The Raven" is shown in the *New York Evening Mirror* for January 29 1845 (the editor prefaced it with: "it is one of these 'dainties bred in a book' which we feed on. It will stick to the memory of everybody who reads it."). And the wrapper of Whitman's novel *Franklin Evans*; or, *The Inebriate*, published twelve years before *Leaves of Grass* as a supplement to the *New World* for November 1842, is reproduced. Above the text of the book itself is the author's name: "Walter Whitman."

*Independence*, 72 pages, paperbound, with index, is available for \$7.50 at the Library's Sales Shops and by mail from Readex Books, 101 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10003.



MOLLIE HUNTER

## Shoulder the Sky

### On the Writing of Historical Fiction for Children

*The troubles of our proud and angry dust,  
Are from eternity and shall not fail.  
Bear them we can; and if we can, we must,  
Shoulder the sky, my lad, and drink your ale.*

WHO ARE WE, this “proud and angry dust”? Whence are we? How may we relate to one another, young to old, race to race, nature to nature? And when do we feel the first glimmer of curiosity that prompts us to ask such questions?

I was three years old when my great-grandmother Hunter first talked and sang to me of the lawless forays carried out by the men that Scotland knew long ago as “the Border reivers.” She was ninety-three, her voice long since cracked and wasted, but there was still a wild, strange music in the very names I heard from her—Kerr, Elliot, Graham, Hunter, Armstrong. . . .

“And you’re an Elliot, as well as a Hunter,” she told me. “You have the Elliot nose.” Which is perfectly true, if unenviable; this feature being somewhat less than handsome. Yet still I recall the marvellous thrill of discovery it gave, to put my hand up then and there, and for the first time realise my nose as a distinctive promontory that gave some sort of meaning to my face, and so to me as an entity; as a person.

“Tell us about the olden days,” my own family begged me constantly when they were children—anything before their own time being “the olden days.” And so I told them of my own childhood in a small village of Lowland Scotland—of the smell of hot, fresh bread

EDITOR’S NOTE: “Shoulder the Sky” was delivered, on May 1 1975 at Donnell Library Center, as the Library’s annual Anne Carroll Moore Lecture. Mollie Hunter lives in the highlands of Scotland and uses her native

Scotland as the setting for her children’s books, which include *The Walking Stones*, *The Thirteenth Member*, *The Haunted Mountain*, and *The Stronghold*

wafting from the bakery door in the dark of a winter's morning, of watching the blacksmith heat the iron rim of a wheel red-hot in his forge, of ploughmen dancing in hobnailed boots at the "kirm" that celebrated the end of harvest, of games played in the churchyard where once—long ago—witches had also danced, and where the effigies of Crusading knights lay with stone swords clasped in quietly folded hands of stone.

I recreated history for them, in fact; both the personal and the general note of it, in the same way as my great-grandmother had done for me. And listening to me, these latest motes of "proud and angry dust" took their first step to identifying with their own kind in times past. They found their own place in the generation table, felt the firm ground in which their roots grew; and it was from this firm ground they were able eventually to look about them and ask the sort of question that Housman's lines prompted me to ask.

They needed the knowledge of these roots. All children do, before they can orientate themselves, first to the family group and then to the wider grouping beyond that. The school history lesson is the widened concept of this idea; but learning and realisation do not always relate in their intended form, and this is why there must sometimes also be the chance to follow a different drum—one that beats with the enticing sound and surge of story weaving through the grey haze of times that otherwise refuse to come alive.

This is where the historical novelist may be acknowledged as coming into his or her own—always provided he or she is not of the pseudo-romantic school which simply tricks out a stereotyped adventure story in ruff and buskined hose, then sets a lot of bearded gentry to meaningless, if energetic, swashbuckling. This might be good, clean escapism, but it certainly does nothing to make the sound of that different drum ring true for the young reader.

The form is a bastard one, bred from the union of bad history with inadequate writing; and as a children's writer with respect both for my craft and for my readers, I am concerned by this. As a Scottish writer, aware that my country's history is largely unfamiliar to those outside her borders, I am further concerned by the fact of its being so often distorted by these pseudo-romantics—and to such an extent, also, that one need look no further for an example of their *genre*.

Bonnie Prince Charlie—super-romantic name, immediately conjuring visions of David Niven in a blond wig planting the standard at Glenfinnan, with bold Highland chiefs flocking to greet him there. From mountain and glen, they rally their men. (One must be careful—the style, like plague, is infectious.) Fanatic in loyalty to their bonnie Prince, the Highlands rise to the summons of the Fiery Cross; and, with so many frilled jabots and lace cuffs in evidence that the scenario looks all chiefs and no Indians (for which latter, read "clansmen") the kilted hordes clash on Culloden field with the Hanoverian army.

Disaster, alas, awaits. (Vignette of Charles on a white horse, looking anxiously bonnie.) The battle lost—in spite of much cantering back and forth on the white horse—Charles is forced to flee. He becomes “the Prince in the heather,” a fugitive with thirty thousand pounds on his head, sheltered by motherly old ladies and beautiful young ones, with a last rearguard of frilled jabots and lace cuffs standing by to fight off pursuing dragoons.

No-one, not even for this king’s ransom, can be found to betray him; and sorrowfully at last, he boards a ship for his return to France. Exit Charlie, to sad strains of pibroch lamenting, “Will ye no’ come back again.” Yet still, in lowly cottages as much as in fine mansions, the loyal toast to “the King over the water” is drunk, and Bonnie Prince Charlie remains forever enshrined in the hearts of the Scottish people.

Thus, the myth; but now for a cold, hard look at reality.

By the time Charles planted the standard in 1745, Scotland was sick of the Stuarts and their dynastic quarrels with the House of Hanover. The Lowlands wanted no part at all in this latest rebellion. In the Highlands, some clans were actively hostile to Charles, and showed this by fighting fiercely against him at Culloden. A majority of Highlanders were either indifferent to him, or only vaguely sympathetic. Only a few clan chiefs were actively loyal; and reluctantly, realising the odds against them, these few brought out their men. Still others hedged their bets, sending sons to fight for both sides, so that the family lands would be safe, whatever the outcome.

The clansmen who were summoned came reluctantly also to the Stuart standard—never at any time more than one in five of the available fighting men of the Highlands. At Culloden, this had been reduced to one in eight, which number included hundreds forced to come out for Charles under threat of their homes burned and goods destroyed. The clan system was dying, but not yet dead, and where a chief could not exact obedience by virtue of being father of his clan, he could still rule by fear.

The men thus forced out to Culloden field were the “humblies”—the lowest rank of a clan, naked of thigh and arm, their only weapon a broadsword. As the clan system demanded also, their sons—boys of fourteen in some cases—stood by them. Yet still, despite the reluctant loyalty of some in the Prince’s army and the fearful obedience of others, every man there fought with a pertinacious ferocity that had them charging into the mouths of the English cannon even after their dead lay piled breast high to the charge. And from every man there, once the weak and indecisive generalship of Charles had lost them the day and he himself was cowardly fleeing the battlefield, a terrible price was exacted.

The dead from these charges were the lucky ones. The wounded suffered death by savage mutilation, or from exposure, with their women kept forcibly from rescuing them. Hanging



In this still from the 1964 British Broadcasting Corporation documentary reconstruction of the Battle of Culloden, produced by Peter Watkins, troopers of the Duke of Kingston's Light Horse regiment, having played no part at all in the actual battle, pursue the fleeing rebels along the road to Inverness, and cut down scores of them. In this single episode are perpetrated some of the worst atrocities ever committed by members of the British army.

—*Photograph Copyright BBC*

and transportation for life were the most merciful of various horrible fates for all those taken prisoner. The men who escaped to their homes did so only to see their babies' brains bashed out, their women raped, their homes burned, stock and crops looted, the death penalty exacted for wearing the tartans which were their only clothing. And in all this, those who had not been "out" in the rebellion suffered equally with those who had; government policy now being to subdue the Highlands for ever by totally destroying the life of its people.

As for the so-called loyalty that would endure all this rather than betray the Bonnie

Prince, his continued safety owed more to accident than to design. Honour played its part, of course, among those actively loyal to him. But for the rest, thirty thousand pounds was just too enormous a sum to be realised by men whose only income was a few pounds a year. Thirty pence—enough to feed a starving family for a week—would have been more temptation. Nor did the Highlands lack for spies, or for those who hated sufficiently to betray without reward; but the capture of Charles would not have put an end, in any case, to the cruelty of those “killing times,” so that most Highlanders reserved their even greater hatred for his enemies.

And so once again, exit Charlie, with no pibroch this time except the cries of the dying, the screams of the terrified, the moans of the hungry; no comfort except his predilection for the bottle that was eventually to make him an alcoholic nuisance to everybody. He wasn’t even bonnie, then or ever, poor lad—not with a receding chin, too large a nose, and a bad case of facial acne. The good looks were just another part of the myth, which itself was born thirty years later among the genteel ladies of Edinburgh, sipping tea in High Street drawing-rooms and achieving a vicarious thrill from composing the ubiquitous “Will ye no’ come back again” and other Jacobite ballads.

There was no singing in the glens—only a grim endurance of want and persecution. This was what Culloden finally meant to the Highlands. But if the myth of the bonnie prince is to be destroyed in favour of reality, what happens to romance, to adventure? Are there to be no figures larger than life, no heroes of Culloden? Is there to be no laughter, no high moment of glory, no voice calling bravely out of the past to the youngster of the present day?

This is where truth scores, for true history blazes with moments no human imagination could invent; and topping them all at Culloden was that charge of the clans—the last charge in the last battle they were ever to fight on the soil of their own land. It was the only kind of fighting the clans knew, that charge; but professional soldiers everywhere spoke of it with awe, for it was more—much more—than a military tactic.

It was the visible, living history of the clan system, led by chiefs, officered by the sons of chiefs, clansmen surging behind in a great, powering wave, with pipes screaming the clan’s war rant, every voice roaring the clan’s war cry. It was pride of blood in action, men of one name all knit in a blind ferocity of courage to project a moment’s glory on that name before they died.

This was why those forced men, those humbly and other reluctant supporters fought as they did at Culloden. And this was also why Murdoch McLeod, a fifteen-year-old pupil at Inverness Academy, played “hookey” from school that day, stole a broadsword, and was last seen on the battlefield enquiring for the men of McLeod so that he might stand by them.





In Peter Watkins' BBC documentary on the Battle of Culloden, Alan MacColl, standing with the MacDonalds of Keppoch, taunts the enemy and desperately shouts for the clans to charge forward out of the cannonade.—*Photograph Copyright BBC*

Did young Murdoch also die under the English cannon? Or did he live to be punished for hookeying out of school, for that stolen sword, and borrowed dreams of glory? There is a tale here, and one voice at least that may call bravely from the past to any youngster, anywhere.

From Glenmoriston too, comes a ringing echo of the romance and high adventure that arose from even this sad shambles of dynastic war; and from a cave high up in the mountains there, springs the true, yet still larger than life story of other heroes of Culloden—seven of them, to this very day still known as the Seven Men of Glenmoriston.

They had followed their chief to the battle, these seven. They were all young, all mountain men agile as deer, all reckless. They turned outlaw, refusing to surrender their arms on promise of the false pardon that led only to the gallows; and high up in their cave refuge in Corrie Dho, they led the existence of seven wild and merry Robin Hoods.

They drank wine stolen from under the very nose of the English commander at Fort Augustus. They plundered baggage trains of grain stolen from poor crofters, and gave it back to their own starving folk. Cunningly, when pursued, they directed their musket fire to make the maximum noise of ricochet from the mountains, and so created the impression of a small army concealed there. They had a leader who outdid them all in feats of daring; but for all their gay impudence, they had a short way with spies. Ruthlessly they dirked one of these to death, then stuck his severed head high on a tree as a warning to others; and it was this same bold Seven who eventually did get Charles away to France.

When all other means in this had failed, his friends brought him to the Seven, and for the next six weeks he lived as one of their band. He called them his Privy Council, answered only to the Gaelic name they gave him, became their camp cook, and tried to teach them also to cook. He talked with the Seven, dreamed and laughed with them, adventured with them, for he was not at all a bad fellow, this young Charles; and to be a man among men at last seemed to give him—temporarily, at least—the grip on reality he had never before managed to achieve.

So at last also, in the cave in Corrie Dho, the dreams and reality of that Jacobite rebellion are transmuted into a tale that does not flinch from admitting the suffering of the times, salutes the high drama these brought forth, and bounds along with the youthful zest and elation of the seven young men themselves.

This is the very stuff of the historical novel. This is what is needed to create a book which can not only stand alone on its merits as a book, but which will also recreate some part of the past as a living link in the chain of human experience. Nor will anything less than this satisfy the definition of what a historical novel should be, for nothing less will make the sound of that different drum ring true for present-day readers; and with all the materials of history to hand, the only question that remains is how to use these to create such a book.

There are no limits of choice for the writer, in this; no barriers in terms of the time or country in which the book may be set, or the historical situation on which it may be based. None of these is relevant except in so far as it serves the main function of the source material—which is to yield a theme that has universal application and appeal. But for the realisation of this theme and its structuring into a novel, there are two essential requisites.

The first is inborn, and by no means peculiar to the writer. It has curiosity about the past

in it, a feeling of the continuing significance of the past; but in sum, it is that indefinable quality, a sense of history. So much the better, also, if the writer is born into an environment which feeds this sense of history—and here, at least, I can speak with the certainty of having experienced this good fortune, for all my childhood impressions are of current time springing naturally from a still-living past.

The village smithy where I had watched the forging of that wheel rim, had fascinated a dozen generations of children before me. In some small fields of the farms around the village, there was still seed broadcast by hand; and still, when it came to harvest, the curved rise and fall of shining sickle-blades, the ancient rite of shaping the last sheaf into a corn dolly to perch high on the stacked straw and thereby protect it from unnameable pagan fears of harm.

The shadow of history fell over me every day from the tree that had shaded George Wishart preaching the Reformation while John Knox carried a sword before him. Its shape filled my vision with castle, keep, and cottage, with barn, mill, and dovecote—or “dookit” as we called this last, in the native Doric speech which itself has the whole of Scotland’s past in its sound and structure.

All this was my dear heritage; but instinctual appreciation of the past is not enough for the historical writer. Knowledge, a detailed yet embracing knowledge of the chosen source material is the second requisite essential to the craft. Yet for the writer, as distinct from the historian, this knowledge must also be free-ranging enough to light on the unexpected, the curious, the unique detail that may suddenly focus understanding more sharply than any number of vast and scholarly tomes.

Imagination springs freely from such moments of discovery. They are the philosopher’s stone that instantly transmutes the leaden dross of history into story-gold; but the lines of formal study can be a bar to finding this talisman, and it was my further fortune never to be so restrained. Growing up in the depression days of the Hungry Thirties meant being too poor to have more than the legal minimum of formal schooling. Resentment at this drove me to libraries; and not knowing whom to trust among the many of all the authorities I read, drove me back to the original sources of history.

From State Papers, diaries, letters, inventories, legal records, I drew my own conclusions and carefully tested them against received wisdom. Nor did marriage and bringing up babies put a stop to this intensity of research, since I found it quite practicable—pleasurable also—to nurse a child in one arm and the current volume of study in the other. And gradually, from resenting the fact of never having had what I thought of as “a proper education,” I turned to appreciating what this had meant to me as a writer.

The knowledge I had gained was academically sound—I had proved that. But no-one had ever conditioned my thinking on what I had learned. I had always been free to strike off on paths that made no difference to the main pattern of history; small, hidden paths that were no more than the tracks between village and village, between one person's house and another. I had peered in at windows, stood behind a housewife writing up her accounts, set off for school with a candle in my hand and a slate under my arm, run in terror along a dark city street when the watch had noticed me abroad after the curfew hour had struck.

I had discovered what it was to think, talk, eat, sleep, wake, in times other than my own; to work, worry, celebrate, mourn, as the people of those times had done, living among them, feeling with them, even dying as one of them—for I, too, had charged those guns at Culloden. I knew the whole pattern into which their lives had fitted, yet I also knew that more important thing which is what really makes the total pattern of history in the end—the quality of those lives. And simply because no-one had ever restrained the play of my imagination, I was free to recreate them in any way I willed.

This, for the historical novelist, must always be the end-purpose of research; to be able to think and feel in terms of a period so that the people within it are real and three-dimensional, close enough to hear the sound of their voices, to feel their body-warmth, to see the expression in their eyes. All the rest one learns—dates of events, types of weapon, location of incidents, political background—all the logistics of history, as it were, are no more than fixed points of reference for the structure of a book; and once the essential knowledge of them has been gained, they are simply something to be absorbed into the general pattern of one's practical awareness, to be used later in exactly the manner and only to the same degree as one would use knowledge of modern times in a book on contemporary life. They can influence plot, but they can never dictate it.

This is not a contradiction in terms, even although the plot of a historical novel revolves, by definition, around some factual event in the past. It was W. Somerset Maugham who said that a writer never thinks of a character in a vacuum, but always as doing something; and George Bernard Shaw who said that it was his characters, and not himself, who took charge of his plots. Both observations are true for any kind of writing, and the structuring of a historical novel is rather like using the ideas they contain to complete a jigsaw puzzle with half of its pieces missing.

One has a series of actual events, sometimes clearly related, sometimes apparently random within a certain space of time or setting. One has historical characters, well-known or otherwise, and all these form the available pieces of the jigsaw. The missing pieces are the fictitious characters—the people always milling around in one's head “doing something.”

The shape and colouring of these pieces depend on what sort of people they are, and on this also depends their time and method of slotting themselves into the jigsaw puzzle.

Where the writer has control in shaping the final picture, is in deciding the point of entry into the story it will portray; but this is also the prime technical problem of any book, and never more so than in one drawn from a past unfamiliar to the young reader. Period and setting have to be established, and where adults are concerned, one can at least presume the modicum of knowledge which permits this to emerge from the developing text. No such presumption can be made for children; and so for them, the writer is additionally faced with casting his opening into a form that will convey the story's period and setting clearly, simply, and without apparent contrivance, at the same time as it sweeps them into its action.

This latter, finally, can only ever be one person's fictionalised concept of events which can never be truly known in their entirety; but so long as it subscribes to its own terms of reference—that is, a seemingly natural synthesis of the known with the fictitious, through characters true to their period and reacting truly to their imagined natures—that concept is a valid one. Nor is the construction of it so mechanical as it may sound from this analysis—quite the reverse, in fact.

As in every inventive process, it takes moments of inspirational clarity to relate theory to fact; and in structuring a book of this kind it may call for wild leaps of the imagination to take the scattered clues that history provides and build them into the needed complexity of richly coloured plot and sub-plot. Yet without the technique to deploy it in this way, the writer's imagination remains an aimless force. Without an iron grasp on technique, there can be no risking of those leaps in imagination. Technique moulds, harnesses, governs. To recognise this fact is the first step in creating a book. To apply it is to provide every succeeding step with the power and direction essential to the whole.

As technique governs, so also must truth restrain. Research to the *nth* degree is the historical novelist's duty as well as pleasure, and it is only when evidence one way or another is finally lacking that the free play of imagination is permissible as well as necessary. The one thing that is *never* permissible is to distort any part of evidence, either by suppressing it to suit the story, or by tilting it to the balance of the writer's prejudice.

This is bad enough directed at adults, who can be assumed able to check the results at source, but children have no such safeguard. Where they are concerned, doctored truth is as bad as outright lies, and lying about history to children does more than take advantage of the inculcated respect that inspires trust in the printed word. It outrages their *right* to the truth.

History is. History is people's lives. The child reading the historical novel is also part of

history, and to tamper with the known facts is to mock both those lives and the reader's apprehension of what they meant.

There can be challenges to this, of course; as, for instance—how can one truly present women in history without perpetuating the convention of the subject role?

The answer here is certainly not in line with the current idiocy of attempting to correct this by re-writing traditional children's tales—all of which are simply a faithful reflection of one-time factual situations; and facts, as my own hard-headed countrymen would put it, "are chieks that winna ding." In effect, no amount of wishful thinking can alter facts; and the writer, in any case, is not a propagandist. But accepting facts still does not mean that one is slavishly bound by their implications. There is still nothing to prevent the writer from selecting historical situations that permitted some women fully to realise themselves as people, and—by contrast with an opposite situation—demonstrating the waste of potential that was the common lot.

A much more serious challenge could spring from the fact that some of the customs of a past day were utterly barbaric by present-day standards, and some of the most exciting sources of story are also the most violent of episodes in history. How does one truly present these to the young reader? How, for example, could one retail an incident involving an execution, the victim of which had been sentenced to be "*chained prostrate on a hurdle, dragged to the place of execution, and there half-hanged, disembowelled, castrated, be-headed, and quartered.*"

This barbarity was first practised in England in the year 1305, and for five centuries thereafter, remained that country's sentence of execution on a traitor. Nothing so revolting has ever been known in Scotland, but it is still no hypothetical question for a Scot to ask how one may write about it, for this was the manner of death hatefully devised by Edward I of England to vent his spleen against a Scot, William Wallace. And Wallace was not only among the greatest of Scottish patriots. He was also that marvellous phenomenon of the human race, an ordinary man who rose to greatness through cherishing the idea of liberty; a freedom fighter who so powerfully forged the resistance of a nation that his stature dwarfs, by comparison, any modern claimant to the title.

In all the long, dark years of struggle against English attempts to enslave the Scottish nation, this idea of liberty was his one bright candle. With his last tortured breath he refused to admit the jurisdiction of the English king over him or over Scotland; and so, with that last breath also, he guarded the continuing right of the Scottish people to that same tiny flame.

Far from debasing him then, with this brutal death, Edward succeeded only in ennobling him. Wallace—Patriotism—Liberty. The names have ever since been synonymous in Scot-

tish minds, and no author of any race could write of Wallace's life without telling also the manner of his death. No Scottish author who took liberty as a theme in writing for children could ignore Wallace as the hero of such a tale, and thus be faced also with the task of showing the martyrdom that made him even greater in death than in life.

The reading of such a finale, one might think, would be enough to make the most hardened adult shudder. And yet I recall reading many times as a child of those who suffered "a traitor's death," and feeling intense frustration at not knowing exactly what this phrase implied. I recall further, that even although I was horrified when I finally discovered the truth of it, I was also relieved to be rid of the pictures my own imagination had painted.

Scenes of blood and violence, in fact, are often a necessary part of externalising childhood's inner fears, and to project these scenes in context is totally different from gratuitously inserting them for effect. Shock—total, unrelated shock—is the effect of seeing a stranger brutally killed before one's eyes. To witness one's brother similarly murdered is to feel concern as well as horror, so that the shock is not only altered in character but diffused into a wider spectrum of sensation. In writing terms, this means aiming to so involve the reader with one's characters that either his sympathy is engaged or his hostility is satisfied when one or other of them is the victim of violence. So the reader eventually experiences catharsis—that purging of the emotions which is the useful function of violence in life; and as in life, so it should be in literature.

Horses for courses, as they say, and the methods of achieving this reader involvement are as various as the writer's technique will allow. But characterisation in depth is still necessarily the key to engaging the reader's emotions in depth; and—as in other forms of writing—characterisation is achieved primarily through the image projected in dialogue. Unfortunately, however, the dialogue of a historical novel is the rock responsible for many a stumble.

"*I'll believe that when I see it,*" said he gives the immediate impression that "he" is a sceptical person, and this note of scepticism can be emphasised by restructuring the dialogue to read, "*I'll believe that,*" said he, "*when I see it!*"

A subsidiary use of dialogue—that of carrying action forward—could be served by making this read, "*I'll believe that,*" said he, *seating himself, "when I see it!"* Further extended, this scrap of dialogue serves yet another use—that of scene-setting; and, at the same time, deepens the characterisation to show confidence as well as scepticism.

"*I'll believe that,*" said he, *seating himself on the room's only chair, "when I see it!"*

Beyond all these functions of dialogue, the historical novelist must also manage to convey the impression of speech forms common to past times, and this is where one may encounter archaisms scattered through a text like sprigs of parsley decorating a dish that



otherwise tastes of anything but parsley. The opposite error is to attempt an academically accurate reproduction of dated speech forms, which—as well as being a check to smooth reading and therefore a stumbling-block to understanding—are incapable of serving the modern writer's threefold use of dialogue.

The dialogue the historical novelist must always settle for, in fact, is a clear, plain English which in itself is timeless, and which should be touched by the fashions of an age only where these can extend its main function. Rather than use the modern word "exceedingly," for instance, it would be correct in 18th century terms to say "exceeding"; and the use of this obsolete form could characterise the typically conservative speech of a lawyer of that time remarking that his client was "an exceeding rich man."

For preference, of course, I would make this gentleman an Edinburgh lawyer, and so exercise the advantage enjoyed by any writer with access to a rich vein of native expression which not only answers to the criterion of timelessness, but also has qualities of originality and wit denied to that clear, plain English.

*He's that mean, if he was a ghost he wouldn't give you a fright.*

Thus the Scots way of describing a very miserly person, and salty comment like this is typical of shrewd observation in any age. Nothing could sharpen the clarity of its characterisation. No-one could better its brevity; and in narrative sequence also, these latter qualities should rule. Narrative carries the action scenes which give the story its forward impetus, and to write sharp, clear narrative is to achieve sharp, clear action. Brevity ensures fast action; and where dialogue occurs intermittently in an action sequence is where all the points already made apply most strongly. "*Have a care!*" may be strictly in period as a shout of warning. The timeless alarm which is sharper, clearer, and therefore most effective, is still, "*Look out!*"

Writing in narrative terms, also, one must always keep in mind the other burden they carry—which is reaction; in effect, the attitude of the story's characters to the events and ideas of their particular age. For a person to react untypically to these would normally be for him to step out of belief as a character within that age; but where the attitudes contemporary to this are not acceptable to the modern reader, the writer may not be able to gain the sympathy he needs for such a character without making him untypical.

A bald statement to this effect achieves no more than making him seem a modern in fancy dress—like that consistently recurring historical hero who bathes and grooms himself every day in an age where bathing was so rare that everyone wore body odour like a second skin, and hair-combing so infrequent that lice were permanent residents. The man within that sweet-smelling skin will inevitably be a modern in mental as well as physical attitudes, and thus quite unbelievable in context of his own time.

To be specific on this as it might occur in a story for children, one could suitably take a situation in which children have a very positive interest—that of breaking-up for the school holidays. And to back-project on this, one might instance the ritual anciently marking the end of the Easter term in the parish schools of Scotland—a main, or series of contests, between game-cocks.

Every boy in school brought a trained bird to fight in this event. The centre of the classroom was the cockpit. The members of the Town Council sat around as honoured guests. The schoolmaster presided over the play—which was a knockout competition leaving only one bird surviving—and at the end of the various rounds, claimed all the dead birds as a perquisite for his Easter dinner.

The cruelty of cockfighting has long been recognised, and the bloody shambles of birds pecked and spurred to death at such a main must have been truly horrifying. But the boys setting those birds on to one another certainly did not recognise this as cruelty. Neither did the dominie who taught them, nor yet the Town Councillors kindly lending their patronage. Only a flash of insight such as occasionally informs our own unthinking acceptance of present-day cruelties could have given them such recognition. And this is the writer's problem—how to present that cockfight as the glorious celebration it was for these schoolboys, at the same time as he provides at least one character in the scene with the insight to realise the cruelty involved.

A wounded bird fighting with gallantry against odds might focus insight for this character; especially if the creature had been a favourite, carefully nurtured. This is the least difficult part of the problem—finding the situation which will solve it. Much more difficult is the technical development of that situation—a matter which calls for the writer to project two differing attitudes: that of the careless enjoyment proper to the time of the story, and—through a character who must never be allowed to step outside the frame of reference provided by that time—the perception of cruelty proper to the writer's own time.

What the situation demands from him, in effect, is more than the division of personality that normally enables the writer to live in two sets of circumstances—his own, and that of his characters. The time factor that calls for him to relate two opposed thought patterns is the complication in that exercise—as it is in all the work of the historical novelist. And with this in mind, the answer to the problem must always finally rest in allowing the pattern of the past to *appear* to dominate, when what takes place in reality is a channelling of this through the thought patterns of the writer's own time.

So the feelings behind the pattern of that past time can also be recreated for the reader; feelings he will then discover are essentially the same as his own. Out of this, faces will emerge; the faces of people he will recognise to be simply reflections of himself. And out of

the knowledge of these people's experience will come some idea of the bald truth in Housman's words:

The troubles of our proud and angry dust,  
Are from eternity, and cannot fail.  
Bear them we can; and if we can, we must. . . .

But this is far from the end of it, for the child learning to relate himself and his own time to the life and times of all those figures from the past, is doing so to the beat of that different drum; and there is more than tragedy in its tumult. There is also the grim gaiety of Housman's last line—*Shoulder the sky, my lad, and drink your ale*. And in this, is the final extent of the kinship the young reader of the historical novel may find, for only humans are thus capable of jesting with fate.

Other forms of the animal creation may court danger, but only humans swagger in the face of fear, make a mental theatre of threat, pursuit, capture, escape, endeavour, contest, or discovery. Only humans seek adventure for adventure's sake . . .

How white their steel, how bright their eyes,  
I love each laughing knave!  
Cry high, and bid him welcome,  
To the banquet of the brave. . . .

Only humans greet death like this—with a laugh, a flourish; with panache! And unless or until something happens to interfere seriously with human nature, this will always be so.

The child bent over the book is of the same breed—born to shoulder the sky, yet still having deep within him that quality of panache and the need to identify with those who have gloriously expressed it. . . . Let the drum beat! Let it call him to that banquet of the brave—the company of his own kind through the ages. He will discover who he is in what they were; and through wandering with them, will truly come home at last.

*Milton by Drumnadrochit*

LINCOLN B. FALLER

## The Myth of Captain James Hind

### A Type of Primitive Fiction before Defoe

They told me he was the captain of the gang, and that he had committed so many robberies that Hind, or Whitney, or the Golden Farmer were fools to him . . . *Moll Flanders*

AFTER HE WAS hanged, and before he was quartered, Captain James Hind was disembowelled for committing high treason against the Commonwealth of England. There is in this the making of a dark conceit, for to a public who followed his exploits for at least the next century and a half James Hind was without an interior reality. So too were those other members of *Moll Flanders*' triumvirate, Whitney and the Golden Farmer. Each was depersonalized in the redaction of his life until finally he was only a name, a faceless emblem of certain specified traits. Like so many other actual highwaymen, Hind was shunted off into the easy world of vulgar romance. The first part of this essay is an account of that process as it affected James Hind over the course of nearly a year from fall 1651, when he first appeared in print, to late summer 1652, when he died, then into the next century when, memorialized more than once, his name lived on.<sup>1</sup> Hind was one of the very first of the notorious highwaymen; indeed in 1651-52 the word itself was but a few years old.<sup>2</sup> What makes his case so notable is not this, however, but that his legend can be traced nearly back to its source. While we cannot see how it was originally formed, we can watch it resisting transformation—even in rather interesting directions—once it had already taken shape. As we shall see, Hind is a representative figure in the popular literature of crime during Defoe's period.

The actualities of Hind's life were mythologized even before his capture. Ultimately,

1 The research on which this article is based has had the generous support of the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Rackham School of Graduate

Studies of the University of Michigan.

2 The OED dates the first usage of the word "highwayman" as 1649.

along with Whitney and the Golden Farmer, he would take his place with more than fifty of his confraternity in Captain Alexander Smith's *Lives of the Highwaymen*, that compendium of "most Secret and Barbarous Murders, Unparalleled Robberies, Notorious Thefts, and Unheard-of Cheats." Here in the version of Hind's life most readily available to the eighteenth century, one reads in rapid order that he was born the son of a respectable saddler at Chipping Norton in Oxfordshire, that apprenticed to a butcher whom he did not like he ran off to London, and that there, falling into unwholesome company, he took to the more lucrative trade of robbing on the highway. In this at least he showed a remarkable aptitude. In his first adventure he had not only the courage to rob two travellers single-handed, but then was generous enough to return them money sufficient to continue them on their journey—which generosity, Smith writes, made Hind's mentor "very proud, to see his companion rob with good grace." Hind went on to greater deeds, going even so far, according to Smith, as to rob Hugh Peters and Sergeant Bradshaw (two of the regicides), giving them each the merciless lash of his tongue. And he would have robbed Cromwell too, "that infamous usurper," but the Lord Protector was so heavily guarded that Hind barely got away with his life. In these adventures, we are told, Hind was prompted by a "great respect for the royal family." Eventually betrayed by "an intimate acquaintance" and arrested where he lodged incognito in London, Hind was interviewed by the Council of State and then brought to stand trial at the Old Bailey. When nothing was proved against him, he was taken to Reading and there tried and convicted on "plain" evidence of murder. His sentence being nullified the next day by an act of general amnesty, Hind was then removed to Worcester and there the authorities finally succeeded in getting a conviction and making it stick. And so he was executed for high treason, but not before expressing his "abhorrence" of the "Republican Party" as he stood on the scaffold, and defending the king's right to the throne. The parts of his dismembered body were hung over the various gates of the city until they rotted away, "except his head, which was secretly taken down and buried within a week after it was set up."<sup>3</sup>

Most of this is sheer invention, convenient and appealing lies. There was an actual Hind who was far more interesting, whose historical presence was—at least for a time—richer and more variegated. In discovering what happened to him through a succession of narratives before Smith finally came to write his life, we shall be doing more than merely providing

<sup>3</sup> Captain Alexander Smith *A Complete History of the Lives and Robberies of the Most Notorious Highwaymen, Footpads, Shoplifts, & Cheats of Both Sexes*

ed Arthur L. Hayward (London: Routledge 1926) 136–40. This first appeared in 1714; Hayward reprints the 5th edition, which was published by S. Briscoe in 1719.

an extensive footnote to the text of *Moll Flanders*. Hind's case shows with more than usual clarity how certain tendencies shaped the writing of highwaymen's lives, and this, I would suggest, can show something of the general priorities of fiction when writers came to deal with a certain kind of criminal in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. For the same tendencies that marked the telling of Hind's life, and the lives of Whitney, the Golden Farmer, and so many of the other rogues memorialized in Smith and elsewhere, mark also those of the more ambitious (or at least more bulky) efforts at writing criminal lives which, before Defoe, anticipate the novel. In the pseudo-biographies of Major Clancie, William Morell, Mary Frith, and Mary Carleton—to name only the most famous—we find characterizations hardly less flat and empty of affect than that which was, first and last, imposed on Hind.<sup>4</sup> If Hind's case is typical, and what evidence we have would indicate that it is, then possibly it may stand as something of a foil to Defoe's single most remarkable literary achievement: the creation in *Moll Flanders* of the first three-dimensional character in the history of the English novel.<sup>5</sup> But first let us see what happened to Hind.

## I

There is but one topic in the *Weekly Intelligencer of the Commonwealth* for Tuesday, November 11 1651:

It is happy indeed for all that travell both by Sea and by Land. This day about twelve of the clock Hind that notorious Robber was brought from the Gate House to Newgate in a Coach, and committed to the charge of the Master of that Prison. . . .

As the *Intelligencer* goes on disapprovingly to note, the first thing that Hind had done once

4 See Elkanah Settle *Life and Death of Major Clancie* (1680) and *Notorious Imposter; or the Life of William Morell* (1692), the anonymously written *Life and Death of Mrs. Mary Frith* (1662), and Francis Kirkman's *Counterfeit Lady Unveiled* (1673). The last, which is the longest and most considerable of a great many accounts of "the German Princess," gets a good deal of attention in Ernest Bernbaum *The Mary Carleton Narratives* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ Press 1914). As Bernbaum shows, Kirkman and the other writers who offered accounts of Mary Carleton's intrigues in certain ways adumbrate the techniques and interests of the novel; see also C. F. Main "The German Princess; or, Mary Carleton in Fact and Fiction" *Harvard Library Bulletin* 10 (1956) 166–85.

5 Hind's case offers nothing so sophisticated as

Kirkman's near novel, nor are the materials here so bulky as those which Bernbaum was obliged to examine. But I take this to be a positive advantage, for as the various accounts of his life are the more easily analyzed, they make the more convenient foil. Moreover, insofar as we are interested in gauging the consciousness of the popular audience at the time Defoe wrote, Hind's legend would seem equally valid with Carleton's. She, too, was best known to the eighteenth century through the medium of Smith's *Highwaymen*. But while Smith pillages Kirkman for most of his details, and many of his phrasings, offering a radical abridgement of *The Counterfeit Lady* at something like one-sixth the length of the original, he omits all the qualities Bernbaum found interesting because they anticipate Defoe.

his warders had finished with shackling him, "although he was sufficiently laden with Irons before, and had money little enough about him, and look't but heavy at his entrance," was to drink to the health of Charles Stuart "with good Ale."<sup>6</sup> For Hind was indeed a staunch Royalist, had in fact (as Smith omits to mention) fought for Charles at Worcester, and, it was rumored, had helped him in his escape to Holland when the battle was lost. Hind himself had come to London to lie low, and there indeed had been betrayed, as contemporary accounts confirm, by an "intimate acquaintance."<sup>7</sup> Needless to say, it was not for having robbed Peters and Bradshaw, or for his attempt on Cromwell, that Hind had been arrested on November 9. Nor was it for any of this that he merited the attention of the Council of State. Smith, who obviously had access to contemporary sources, chose to repeat only a part of their story; his life of Hind, like so much else in his book, is at core his own contrivance. Yet the spirit of Smith's account is not inappropriate. Even in his own time, the largest part of Hind's reputation came not so much from what he had done for the Royalists as from his cavaliering on the highway in his own behalf. Thus it was almost entirely as a highwayman that he figured in a pamphlet published just a little less than two weeks before he was captured.

*Hind's Ramble*, a collection of anecdotes supposedly describing the most notable of his robberies and swindles, epitomizes the first of three phases of his myth.<sup>8</sup> In substance and appeal it has much in common with earlier jest-biographies and treatises on cony-catching. But it is more important to note that its form and narrative style are typical of the largely fictitious accounts of highwaymen's lives that begin to appear early in the seventeenth century, and which flourish, in cheap chapbooks or in more lavish compilations like Smith's, over most of the eighteenth. There is really no need to give a particular description of its contents—it has Hind doing the usual sorts of things—save possibly to say that it does possess an unusual currency, bringing his adventures (remember, he was still at large) right up to the time of Charles's escape from Worcester. Before assisting (supposedly) in that enterprise, Hind ranges over England, Holland, and Ireland, robbing rich travelers, cozening the

6 *Weekly Intelligencer of the Commonwealth* no. 45 (Nov 11-18 1651).

7 See *The taking of Hind* 2, and *The English Gushman*, p 38 (full titles are given below).

8 G.F. [George Fidge?] *Hind's Ramble, or, the Description of his manner and course of life. Wherein is related the several Robberies he hath committed in England, and the Escapes he hath made upon several occasions. With his voyage into Holland and how he cheated a Dutch-man there of 200 l. And from thence*

*went into Ireland, where he did many Robberies, and was wounded by some of his own Party. With a relation of his going to the Scotch King, where he was made Scoutmaster General, and afterwards (as 'tis generally reported) was the onely man that conveyed the Scotch King to London, who since is Shipt away for beyond Seas* (London: George Latham [Oct 27] 1651). The day of publication has been entered in hand on the title page of the copy in the British Museum; most of the other pamphlets there on Hind bear similar notations.

covetous, and occasionally helping the poor. In none of this, it should be emphasized, save in such details as Hind's parentage and education, does *Hind's Ramble* at all confirm the particulars of Smith's account. Nor does Smith's version of Hind's life coincide with any of the others that were published before it, except in certain of the details concerning his capture, and where, when, and why he died. Nowhere else is there any mention of Cromwell, Peters, or Bradshaw; nor, as we shall see, is Smith's account of Hind's last moments—for all its seeming authenticity—confirmed by the one other writer who mentions Hind's death.

On the very day that Hind was committed to Newgate another account of his exploits was published, styling itself *An Excellent Comedy, Called, The Prince of Priggs Revels*.<sup>9</sup> In actual fact, this is but a poor thing, a collection of crude dramatic sketches made of much the same stale stuff as *Hind's Ramble*; both works, quite obviously, are nothing more than timely efforts at cashing in on Hind's notoriety. "Such things as these are less than the least of my *Recreations*," says the playwright—only in this is one inclined to believe him—and he ends his work *in media res*. In a brief epilogue he pretends to have been called away from his imaginings by the real news of Hind's capture; but the whole work, barely fourteen pages long, could just as likely have been written afterwards.<sup>10</sup> The author of *The Prince of Priggs* has even less interest in Hind as an actual person than the author of *Hind's Ramble*. And the author of *Hind's Ramble*, though mildly critical of Hind—"All that can be said of him that was good, is, That he was Charitable to the poor; and was a man that never murdered any on the Road; and always gave men a jest for their money: Therefore of the Knaves, the honestest of the Pack"—is after all but barely concerned with the question of what his hero is actually like. All that we get from *Hind's Ramble* about the man himself are a few details at the beginning about his origins, and then at the end this cursory judgment:

Hind was a man but of mean stature; his Carriage before people was civil; his Countenance smiling, good Language; civilly Cloathed; no great Spender or Ranter in Taverns. But these were onely Cloaks to deceive honest men of their money. Many of his actions savoured of Gallantry: Most of Wit; but least of Honesty.<sup>11</sup>

This crabbed and ambivalent comment is all that we hear in either work of Hind's personality and character.

9 J.S. *An Excellent Comedy, Called, The Prince of Priggs Revels: Or, the Practices of that grand Thief Captain James Hind, Relating Divers of his Pranks and Exploits, never heretofore published by any* (London:

G Horton [Nov 11] 1651). A "prigg" is a thief.

10 . . . *The Prince of Priggs* 114.

11 *Hind's Ramble* 41-42.



In *Hind's Ramble*, as in *The Prince of Priggs*, the putative adventures of the highwayman are offered up as nothing more than aids to wish fulfillment. Neither intends actually to give its readers Hind, but rather to give them back a part of their own minds. *Hind's Ramble*, says its author, is "a book full of delight and fit for vacant hours." It shows that "Fantacies may take place as well as Histories." Hind is a man of whom

it may well be said . . . *That the like is not to be seen or ever heard of*; his experience hath made him an absolute Artist in his profession: He may be likened to a place called, *Nonesuch* . . . for all the Histories in the World cannot afford the like president.<sup>12</sup>

The very fact of his actual existence is to be taken, it seems, as proof that reality can offer all the dream satisfaction of fiction. Hind's name is used to give to a set of specious stories what otherwise they could not have: the teasing possibility that indeed they are true. In being put to such use Hind of course is not unlike so many other criminals, from the time of Elizabeth right down to the present day, upon whom fictions have been foisted by popular writers serving, in one way or another, the need of their audience to mythologize reality. Nor was he unlike so many modern criminals who, for motives of their own, have co-operated in the making of their myths.

Once he was captured, Hind lost no time in doing what he could to disarm the more dangerous elements of his legend, trying at the same time, it would appear, to exploit whatever there was in his public reputation that might make for sympathy. Thus he helped to initiate the second phase of his myth, which is where he becomes especially interesting to us. Hind's efforts were assisted (perhaps not to his ultimate benefit, as we shall see) by the publisher of *The Prince of Priggs*, who, having already helped to shape Hind's legend, was apparently not at all behindhand in the attempt to remold it. In quick succession two more pamphlets came from George Horton's press: first, *The true and perfect Relation of the taking of Captain James Hind*, and then, a few days later, *The Declaration of Captain James Hind (close Prisoner in New-gate)*.<sup>13</sup> The second of these pamphlets, mostly a reprint

12. *Hind's Ramble* [5-6].

13. *The true and perfect Relation of the taking of Captain James Hind: on Sabbath-Day last in the Evening at a Barbers house in the Strand neer Clements Church. With the manner how he was discovered and apprehended: His Examination before the Council of State; and his Confession touching the King of Scots Also, an Order from the Council of State concerning the said Captain Hind; The bringing him down to Newgate (yesterday) in a Coach; and his Declaration and Speech delivered in prison* (London: G Horton [Nov 14] 1651), and *The Declaration of Captain James*

*Hind (close Prisoner in New-gate) and his Acknowledgement, Protestation, and full Confession at his Examination before the Council of State, on the 10 of this instant Novemb. 1651. Together with a perfect Narrative, (written by his advice) of all his strange proceedings and Travels; setting forth the great difficulties and dangers he escaped in severall Countreies, upon his adventuring to the King of Scots at Sterling. With his Letter to the said King; and his Resolution to suffer any kind of death, rather then to impeach or betray any Man* (London: G Horton [Nov 18] 1651).



The famous "Colonel Jack Robbing Mrs Smith Going to Kentish Town," while in the background a less famous thief pursues his trade; engraving by I. Basire, after W. Jett, from Charles Johnson *A General History of the Lives and Adventures of the Most Famous Highwaymen* (London: Olive Payne 1736) facing p 120—Rare Book Division

of the first, is prefaced by Horton's announcement that he has been "desired . . . by . . . Mr. *Hind*, to publish this ensuing Declaration, for satisfaction, & true information of the People; together with a Narrative of his Travels" in order to discredit "sundry and various Relations fraught with impertinent stories, and new-invented fictions" (among them of course Horton's own *Prince of Priggs*).<sup>14</sup> Hind himself, in the first of these two pamphlets, is reported as having said, when confronted by a gentleman who had pulled "two Books out of his pocket; the one entituled, *Hinds Ramble*[, t]he other, *Hinds Exploits*," that yes, he had seen them before, but that "upon the word of a Christian, they were fictions." While Hind was willing to allow that he had played "some merry Pranks and Revels," these, he felt, were not very reprehensible.<sup>15</sup> He was later reported to have declared, "[it] is a supportment to me, that I have taken from the rich; and given to the poor; for nothing doth more impoverish the Cottage-Keeper, then the rich Farmer, and full-fed Lawyer. . . . They were the men I chiefly aimed at." Hind was "confident," he said, that "the wrongs which I have committed doth not cry aloud for vengeance; but rather the Mercy that I shewed in all my Designs and Actions, may plead an acquitment of all punishment." Though "every wrong I have done wrings drops of blood from my heart," he claimed, "I never shed one: Neither did I ever take the worth of a peny from a poor man; but at what time soever I met with any such person, it was my constant custom, to ask, *Who was he for?* if he reply'd, *For the King*, I gave him 20 shillings: but if he answer'd, *For the Parliament*, I left him, as I found him." But Hind most emphatically denied "any other Exploits since 1649" beyond these last, wanting instead to emphasize the services he claimed to have done his king. Though he disavowed any part in helping Charles escape from Worcester, he proudly described an audience which the king had granted him at Stirling in Scotland. There he had been received in the king's own chamber, and allowed to kiss the royal hand. Moreover, "because his Life-guard was full," the king had commended him to the Duke of Buckingham "to ride in his troop." Thus it was not as a highwayman but as a soldier and a patriot, not as a rogue but as a man of honor that Hind would have preferred to present himself. "I sorrow not to die; neither shall I grieve at the manner of my death, though it be never so untimely," he declared in Newgate to those who would listen. "Yet could I have but that happiness, as to fight for my life, and to encounter an Enemy in the field," he is reported to have said, "it would be an infinite comfort, and joy of spirit to me."<sup>16</sup>

Of Hind's actual character, even assuming the accuracy of Horton's catchpenny pamphlets, we can tell very little. As we have seen, Hind was not above trying to make himself

<sup>14</sup> *The Declaration* 1.

<sup>15</sup> *The taking of Hind* 6.

<sup>16</sup> *The Declaration* 6, 2-3.

seem a latter-day Robin Hood, even though this was a role at least a cut below the more honorable part of an honest patriot, and even though, actually, it was not as a highwayman that he had been arrested. Perhaps there were times when he hoped to seem more amiable—and less dangerously political—as the “honestest knave of the pack.” And yet, it should be said to his credit, he could, if only when prompted, assume with grace the nobler character. It was thus on that occasion when, claiming to have robbed landlords and lawyers “chiefly,” he went on to cap this dubious defence with one of his “witty Gingles.” One of the gentlemen present, disregarding the general laughter this had provoked, reminded Hind just what precisely was at issue:

“[Aye] Captain,” he said, “but you are not brought hither for robbing, but for Treason”—“Treason replied Hind, I am not guilty of in the least”—“yes Sir, but you are, for complying with Charles Stuart, and engaging against the Common-wealth of England”—“Alas Sir, it seems that is enough then to hang me”—“I am afraid you will find it so, replied the Gentleman”—“Well, Gods will be done (said Hind) I value it not a three pence, to lose my life in so good a cause; and if it was to do again, I should do the like; [Aye], I protest would I,” he said, “laying his hand upon his breast.”<sup>17</sup>

Nor did he ever recant his loyalty to the king. About Hind himself, then, we cannot suppose any more than this: to a public he was anxious to impress he played, quite understandably, both honest patriot and honest rogue. If we are willing to limit ourselves just to the roles that he played, however, we can move beyond mere supposition. For it is possible to show quite clearly how one of these roles, and the baser of the two, tended to crowd the other quite out of the picture. This, the movement from the second to the third and final phase of his myth, was not an uncomplicated process. Before finally rejecting all but a single particle of the new material Hind’s arrest had provided, his myth tried first to incorporate this material, to make it part of an expanding and richer legend.

So far we have mentioned only four of the thirteen separate works on Hind which survive in the British Museum; of the remaining nine only four more are worth considering. These are linked by plagiarism, all sharing *Hind’s Ramble* as a common ancestor, and all but the last of them were published while Hind was still alive. The first two of this group of four, in order of appearance, are interesting for what they added to the popular image of Hind, the last two for what they subtracted. The first of the offspring of *Hind’s Ramble* is George Fidge’s *The English Gusman*, an enlargement of the previous work, which tells us a little more about the background of its hero, and adds (in keeping with its title) a few more

<sup>17</sup> *The taking of Hind* 6; this passage is not reprinted in Hind’s *Declaration*, though a version of it does appear in *The English Gusman*.

improbably picaresque adventures.<sup>18</sup> It includes as well the substance of four pamphlets published soon after Hind's arrest. Two of these—*The taking of Hind* and *Hind's Declaration*—have already been mentioned; a third, also published by Horton, had given an account of Hind's petition for better treatment in Newgate,<sup>19</sup> and the fourth, which could also have been put out by Horton (no publisher's name appears on the title page), had attached to a reprint of Hind's *Declaration* an account of his appearance at the Old Bailey.<sup>20</sup> The contents of these four pamphlets, taken up into *The English Gusman* pretty much whole, endow the eponymous rambler with something more like a particular identity, something more like a human face.

The most striking by far of all the new things to be found in *The English Gusman*, however, is a chapter that claims to give "the discourse between [Hind's] Father, His Wife, and himself, in *Newgate*, the 28. of *November*." Whether this new episode is Fidge's invention, or borrowed from a source that has not survived, and whether or not it describes something that did indeed occur, it represents a remarkable departure from the overall tenor of the piece. It brings to bear on Hind and his predicament a concern that is, considering the rest of the book, unusually humane. Thus this description of Hind's first encounter with his wife and his father, so unlike all the previous scenes of emotional distress in a narrative in which human suffering, up to now, has always been played for laughs:

the good *Old man* with tears in his eyes began to behold his *Son*, who was kneeling at his *Fathers* feet; but was scarce able to rise for the wait of Irons that was on his legs. but being helped by his *Father*, arose, and went to his *Wife*, who stood wringing her hands, to see her Husband in that misery. She taking him about the neck, wept to see him, kissing him a thousand times. . . .

18 G[eorge] F[idge] *The English Gusman; or the History of that Unparallel'd Thief James Hind. Wherein is Related*[:] I. His Education and manner of Life, also a full Relation of all the severall Robberies, madd Pranks, and handsom Jestis done by Him. II. How at Hatfield he was Enchanted by a Witch for three years space; and how She Switch'd His Horse with a white Rod, and gave him a thing like a Sun-dial, the Point of which should direct him which way to take when persued. and III. His Apprehension, Examination at the Councel of State, Commitment to the Gatehouse, and from thence to Newgate; His Arraignment at the Old Baile; And the discourse betwixt his Father, his Wife and Himself in Newgate (London: Printed by T. N. for George Latham Junior [Jan 10] 1652)

19 *The Humble Petition of James Hind* (Close Pris-

oner in New-Gate) to the Right Honourable the Council of State; and their proceedings thereupon . . . (London: G. Horton [Nov 21] 1651).

20 *The Trial of Captain James Hind on Friday last before the Honourable Court at the Sessions in the Old Bayley. With his Examination and Confession; His Speech touching the King of Scots; His merry Conceits and witty Pranks presented to the Judges; the manner of his gallant deportment; an Order for his further Trial at Oxford; the Reasons demonstrated; and a Charge of High-Treason exhibited against him. With his Narrative and Declaration touching all his Pranks and Proceeding* ([London]: n.p. [Dec 15] 1651); the title page notes that it is "published for general satisfaction, by him who subscribes himself—James Hind."

Assuring his father that he "is sorry from the bottom of his heart for his offences," Hind ventures to hope that "the *State* will have as much mercy on me, as ever the late King had on *Clavil*; who was far more in danger than I am now." But his father warns him, "Be not too confident. . . . For friends that should stir in your business I have none." Here there is a marginal note in the text: "*Clavil* was a great scoller, and had many friends." "And that which should do you most good," the old man continues, "doth you the most injury: I shall desire you upon my blessing to bridle your speech. . . ."—"meaning," as another note informs us, "his reviling."<sup>21</sup> In its final paragraph *The English Gusman* gives an account of another visit to Hind by his father and his wife; here we read of a parting that was, for all we know, final. Hind's father "giving him his blessing, bids him *fare-wel*; wishing him to serve God, who would not cast away a sinner that doth truly repent." And Hind's wife, we read, at the conclusion of the text,

with tears in her eies gave him a parting Salute; which made the stout Captain answer the same in the like nature; wishing he were at liberty to have gone with them; but he still relying on the mercy of the Parliament; made no doubt, but to visit his friends, before they came to visit him again; but as yet he lies in Newgate in hopes of a Release.<sup>22</sup>

Such cautious optimism, prompted by the fact that no case had as yet been made against Hind, was wholly ill-founded. Parliament was to have its revenge.

This revenge was to be chronicled in the last two of the narratives deriving from *Hind's Ramble*. Before turning to them, however, we might first glance at Horton's final surviving publication on Hind, for it suggests why Parliament was not about to be merciful. *We have brought our Hogs to a fair Market: or, Strange Newes from New-Gate*, published four days after *The English Gusman*, can hardly have done much to advance Hind's hopes of a pardon from the government; indeed it may well have done something to dim them.<sup>23</sup> For while

21 *Clavil*, or rather John Clavell, was the author of *A Recantation of an ill led Life. Or a Discoverie of the Highway Law* (1628), which he wrote while in prison for highway robbery. He was at least scholar enough to write his recantation (near fifty pages) all in decasyllabic couplets, and the nephew and heir of a knight-banneret as well. Charles I pardoned him.

22 *The English Gusman* 42–43, 46.

23 *We have brought our Hogs to a fair Market: or, Strange Newes from New-Gate; Being a most pleasant and Historical Narrative, of Captain James Hind, never before published, of his merry pranks, witty Jests, unparallel'd Attempts, and strange Designs. With*

*his Orders, Instructions, and a Decree, to all his Royal Gang, and Fraternity, the appearing of a strange Vision on Munday morning last, with a Crown upon his head; the Speech and Command that were then given to Cap. Hind; and the manner how it vanished away. As also how he was enchanted by a Witch at Hatfield, for the space of three years; and how she switch'd his horse with a white Rod, and gave him a thing like a Sun-diall, the point of which should direct him which way to take when persued. With his Speech; the old-Hags Charm; and the raising of the Devil in the likeness of a Lyon; To the great admiration and wonder of all that shall read the same* (London: George Horton [Jan 14] 165[2]).



Horton claims again to be concerned with answering "divers impertinancies" that have been "lately divulged upon the proceedings of Captain *James Hind*," he seems to use Hind as a rallying point for Royalist sentiment even more than he had in his earlier publications. Thus, along with a few new stories—among them one in which Hind causes a Presbyterian minister to be taken up as a highwayman, and another in which he escapes capture by conjuring up a vision of "a Rampant Lyon" (a symbol of a sovereign?)—it adds the text of "his Orders, Instructions, and a Decree, to all his Royal Gang" (as the title page indicates) to things that had already appeared in *Hind's Ramble* and elsewhere. In this "decree" Hind instructs his men "to be in charity with all men, except the Caterpillars of the Times, viz. *Long-gown men, Committee-men, Excize-men, Sequestrators, and other Sacrilegious persons*." The title page promises also to describe "the appearing of a strange Vision on Munday morning last, with a Crown upon his head; the Speech and Command that were then given to Cap. *Hind*; and the manner how it vanished away." This the authorities may have found even more provoking, for, as the pamphlet goes on to disclose, the vision was of "the late King *Charles*," who said, apparently from heaven, "*Repent, repent, and the King of Kings will have mercy on a Thief*." And there in the center of the page just after this, about two and a half inches high, is a cut of the Royal Martyr with "a Crown upon his head," and (perhaps to the greater annoyance of good Commonwealth men) his head still attached to his shoulders. If Hind indeed had sanctioned *Strange Newes from New-Gate*—it claims to be "attested under his own hand"—then clearly he had failed to heed the advice of his father, or, if his father's visit is a fiction, then of George Fidge or whoever it was who had counseled him to bridle his speech.<sup>24</sup>

The end did not come quickly. What little we know of it, aside from Smith's dubious account, comes from two chapbooks, *Wit for Mony* (1652) and *No Jest like a True Jest* (1657). Each of these adds a brief conclusion to what it has taken from *Hind's Ramble*: according to them, Hind spent most of the winter in Newgate, and then on the first of March he was taken from London to Reading. There he was tried for having killed a drinking companion some time before in a quarrel over a wager. Found guilty of manslaughter, not murder (which meant the jury was sympathetic enough to find extenuating circumstances), Hind, as we read in *Wit for Mony*, "was allowed his Clergy, but when he came to his Booke he could not read, but was much dijected, and spake very little for himself; so he was condemned, and sentence passed on him to dye." But Hind's fortune was still changeable, for as *Wit for Mony* notes, "the next morning the Act of Oblivion being sent down to my Lord

24. *Strange Newes from New-Gate* 1, 4, 5.



I rob'd men neatly  
as is here exprest,  
Coyne I ne'r tooke  
unlesse I gave a Jest.

Though here-tofore I've bin a subtille Cheat,  
As thou mayst find by what I here repeat,  
Yet now resolv'd to give just dealing place,  
I here present to publike view my face,  
That if againe I ever doe amisse  
I may be knowne to all the World by this.

I. H.

# Wit for Mony.

Being a full Relation of the  
Life, Actions, merry Conceits,  
and pretty Pranks of Captain *James*  
*Hind* the famous Robber, both in  
*England, Holland, and Ireland.*

With his new Progresse through *Berkshire*  
*Oxfordshire*, and the Adjacent Counties, be-  
gun on Monday the first of *March*,  
1651. with the Judges of the  
Affize for that Circuit.



London Printed for Tho. Vere, and William  
Gilbertson, and are to be sold at their shops  
in the Old-Baily, and Giltspur-Street.

The title page and facing page of the chapbook *Wit for Mony*, with a few of the repentant lines attributed to Hind—*British Library*

[Justice], he was pleased to pardon him for that time, and that offence." This "left [Hind] a Prisoner in *Reading* Gaole upon the account of high Treason against the State, where he yet remains; But it is not probable"—the writer of *Wit for Mony* concludes, appending at last his own view of the man and his current situation to the digest he has been writing of *Hind's Ramble*—"but it is not probable for any thing he hath yet done, he will by an untimely Death





be brought to his *End*.<sup>25</sup> So lucky indeed seemed the golden Hind. Yet Hind had still to face that one last vicissitude. This we find reported from a distance of five years in a single perfunctory sentence at the end of *No Jest like a true Jest*.<sup>26</sup> As this pamphlet is a condensation at something like half the length of *Wit for Mony*, it offers a double distillation of the essential Hind that had appeared in *Hind's Ramble*. It provides, moreover, the version of Hind's life that was to survive the longest, well into the nineteenth century.<sup>27</sup> Thus it is important to note that it purges, even more utterly than *Wit for Mony*, what little individuality Hind had achieved in print by virtue of his capture and sojourn in jail. Not even the curious details of his trial at Reading remain. *No Jest like a true Jest* notes only at the last, after giving the barest details of his arrest and imprisonment, that Hind

was found guilty of Manslaughter [at Reading], and condemned to dye, but on the next morning the act of oblivion being sent, [he was] acquitted all former offences, only the Indictment of High Treason against the State, and for that Fact he was carried to Worcestor, and there drawn hang'd and quartered on Friday, Sep. 24. 1652.<sup>28</sup>

For Hind it must have been a long winter, a longer summer, and a long last Friday. But there is in none of the accounts of him any sense of this, of all the time in prison spent preparing for his end. Long before that fatal Friday the life within him, object as he was of the mythologizing process, had quite been drained away. Smith, to be sure, would provide a few more details about the end of his career, giving for example the full name of the man that Hind had killed near Reading, and he would give us all the description we have of Hind's last moments. Yet there is no reason to believe that it was, as Smith claims, a certain George Sympson whom Hind had killed—in fact both *Wit for Mony* and *No Jest like a true Jest* say it was a man named Poole—nor can we be sure that Smith's account of Hind's dying speech

25 *Wit for Mony. Being a full Relation of the Life, Actions, merry Conceits, and pretty Pranks of Captain James Hind the famous Robber, both in England, Holland, and Ireland. With his new Progresse through Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and the Adjacent Counties, begun on Monday the first of March, 1651. with the Judges of the Assize for that Circuit* (London: Tho. Vere and William Gilbertson [1652]), the quotation is from the last page of an unnumbered text.

26 *No Jest like a true Jest: Being a Compendious Record of the Merry Life, and Mad Exploits of Capt James Hind, the Great Rober of England. Together with the Close of All at Worcestor, Where He Was Drawn, Hanged and Quartered, for High Treason against the Common Wealth, September 24, 1652* (Lon-

don: Printed by A.P. for T. Vere 1674; rpt. G. Smeeton 1817); this is the text from which I quote, but an earlier edition, apparently the first, was published in 1657. (There appears to be only one copy of this in existence, at the Bodleian; I have not seen it.) Still another edition was published in 1670(?), and a fourth in 1680 (see Wing's *STC*, 1st ed, F1177-F1179).

27 The British Museum holds editions of *No Jest like a true Jest* published ca. 1750 at London and Stratford-upon-Avon, ca. 1765, 1775, and 1805 at Newcastle, and ca. 1820 at Stirling (where Hind kissed the king's hand).

28 *No Jest like a true Jest*, last page of an unnumbered text.

is any the less a fabrication than the stories he tells about how and whom Hind robbed. But it is not Hind himself, finally, that can concern us. He remains unknowable, however much in our imaginations we can see him sweating out his myth, straining, for instance, to live up to his reputation for wit.<sup>29</sup> Nor do I want to dwell on Hind's emergence from stereotypical roguery for reasons that could have had to do with the political and psychological disposition of certain people in London the winter of 1651-52, when, after the defeat at Worcester, the Royalist cause seemed hopeless.

One well may wonder whether Hind and those who wrote about him were feeding a need to believe in a Cavalier prankster dashing and undaunted, a man not so much a thief as in his own way a leveller, not so much a traitor as a patriot still loyal to a cause apparently lost, a rogue and yet of knaves "the honestest of the pack"—a man whom Parliament, after all, could hardly be so cruel as to kill.<sup>30</sup> While this very possibly may have been the case, all that one can claim with any certainty is that Hind emerged from his myth only very shortly to subside back into it. Over the long run there seems to have been a tendency to want to see him in only one way. While it is important, to be sure, that Hind as a person was swallowed up by his myth, it is at least of equal importance that another way of looking at him was not encouraged, did not develop. It is this other mode that Fidge slips into when he describes the tearful encounter between Hind, his wife, and his father, or when he considers Hind's fate as a moral object lesson, claiming for instance that

the Devil when he has a Design upon some frail person, tickles him with the conceit of acting something that may draw a fame upon him; the greediness to purchase which, makes him forget to examine himself, whether it be good or evil; but he runs the hazard; and at the last is taken in it.

It is in just such a way, Fidge warns, that many have been drawn "from their honest callings, that might not only have lived contentedly, but died peaceably; and so have lived that death might never have bin feared."<sup>31</sup> Such a point of view is entirely absent from *Wit for Money* and *No Jest like a true Jest*, just as it was from *Hind's Ramble* and would be from the version that Smith was to write of Hind's life. Yet this was a point of view rather generally applied to

29 When asked during his examination at the Old Bailey where he was born, he delivered this riposte: "At the merry town of Chipping-Norton in Oxfordshire"; and "as he passed from the Bar, casting his head on one side, and looking as it were over the left shoulder," he took the opportunity to say, "These are filthy gungling Spurs; (meaning his Irons about his legs) but I hope to have them chang'd ere long; which expressions caused much laughter" *The Trial of James Hind*

4, 5.

30 "As he passed up the Old-bayley towards Newgate, divers people resorted to see him; who asked if he had received Sentence; which words Mr Hind hearing, faced to the left; and smiling, said, No, no, good people, There's no hast to hang true folkes" *The Trial of James Hind* 5.

31 *The English Gusman* [iii-v].

criminals in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; why didn't it stick to Hind? For all its suspect piety—and perhaps its most notorious purveyor was the Rev Paul Lorrain, Chaplain in Ordinary to Newgate Prison and not much liked by Defoe—such a point of view has at least the advantages of allowing to the criminal's character some minimal depth, some bare coherence.<sup>32</sup> All that talk about the Devil and sin, of people drawn from their honest callings, of death and why it should be feared, makes of the criminal's life something more than a convenient locale for the idle imaginings of empty hours, "a place called Nonesuch"; the criminal is honored at least as an emblem of the general human condition. But Hind, with his life made into a series of disconnected episodes, most of these jokes, finally is denied even this. In a way it seems only appropriate that he should have lingered in Smith's imagination as he does: eviscerate, scattered into pieces, the chiefest part of him taken down secretly and buried.

## II

Hind's case should leave us with two questions: How representative is it? Why should he have been treated as he was? A brief look at the evidence we have concerning Whitney and the Golden Farmer will argue for Hind's typicality as a redacted highwayman, for the realities of their lives, too, were debased to suit the tastes of the popular audience. And while in their cases the evidence is hardly so full, it is highly suggestive. For in report they are, like him, essentially similar to practically all the notorious highwaymen of their era. If Hind's case can be taken to figure forth a general cultural pattern, the question then arises, What lay behind this pattern? What, conceivably, was Defoe reacting against as he wrote *Moll Flanders* and his other novels of criminal life?

The little hard evidence we have about Whitney's career and eventual end comes from two sources. One of these is a broadside describing his capture on December 31 1692. The mob, after helping run him down, huzzaed him as he was carried off in a coach to prison.<sup>33</sup> The other, and by far the more valuable source of information on the actual Whitney is a series of entries in Luttrell's *Relation of State Affairs*. Here, again, we get the impression of a

32 Defoe impugned Lorrain's motives in "A Hymn to the Funeral Sermon" (1703), suggesting that he was more interested in making money than in living up to his religious responsibilities. For an account of the papers Lorrain regularly published on the last speeches and dying behavior of condemned prisoners, and the possible relevance of these to Defoe, see my article "In Contrast to Defoe: the Rev Paul Lorrain, Historian of

Crime," forthcoming in the *Huntington Library Quarterly*.

33 *A Full and True Account of the Apprehending James Whitney, The Notorious High-way-man, near Bishopsgate. With his Examination and Confession before Sir Thomas Cook, Sheriff, and the Recorder of the City of London* (London: Randal Taylor, n.d.).

man who was rather more interesting than the stereotype which replaced him. A notorious Jacobite, Whitney nonetheless offered "to bring in 80 stout men of his gang to the kings service, if he may have his pardon." Or so Luttrell reported on December 1 1692; three weeks later the number of men involved is scaled down, but we find, astonishingly, that the offer was taken under consideration:

The lords C. and B. were on Saturday last to meet Whitney, a great highwayman, on honour: he offers to bring in 30 horse, with as many stout men, to serve the king, provided he may have his pardon, and will give a summe of money besides: but the issue thereof [is] not known.

Soon thereafter Whitney was arrested and convicted. While awaiting trial with "40 pound weight of irons on his leggs; he had his taylor make him a rich embroidered suit, with perug and hatt, worth 100l." He also offered to betray his comrades "if he may have his pardon." This less than generous conduct contrasted sharply with the behavior of his friends outside, some of whom but a few days before had robbed three coaches coming from Epsom of two hundred pounds, telling their victims "they borrowed the money to maintain Whitney in prison."<sup>34</sup>

Whitney was convicted on January 19 1693 and taken to Tyburn on January 27 in order to be hanged, but then "was brought back, having a reprieve for 10 dayes . . . with a rope about his neck, a vast crowd of people following him." Rumors abounded; some thought he had been reprieved in exchange for revealing "who hired the persons to rob the mailles so often," while others said he had offered to disclose "his accomplices, with their houses of reception, and way of living." The truth was actually far more extravagant: on the morning he was to be hanged Whitney had written a letter to Lord Capell, claiming to have been involved in a plot to assassinate King William "as he hunted in Windsor forest, in order to which he and 11 others attended there when the king was hunting . . . but could not meet with an opportunity to execute the same, and that the design was still carried on." Capell rushed this letter to Chief Justice Holt, and Whitney got his reprieve. That night he was taken to Whitehall, where he demanded a full pardon before saying anything more about the alleged plot against the king. The authorities, by now suspecting "only a contrivance to gain time," instead took back the reprieve, and Whitney was finally hanged on February 1; his ruse had lengthened his life by five days. "He seemed to dye very penitent," wrote Luttrell, "was an hour and halfe in the cart"—presumably praying—"before [being] turn'd off."<sup>35</sup> None of this appears in either of the two pamphlets printed near the time that Whitney was cap-

<sup>34</sup> Narcissus Luttrell *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714* (Ox-

ford: Oxford Univ Press 1857) II 630, 644; III 5, 10, 2  
<sup>35</sup> Luttrell III 16, 23-24, 26, 27.

tured and hanged, except for some versions of the story told in the broadside about his arrest. *The Jacobite Robber* and *The Life of Captain James Whitney* differ on the essential details of his "life," even though the second absorbs some stories from the first.<sup>36</sup> Neither of these is much to be relied on, except possibly for entertainment (and that none too certainly). The more than usually factitious account of Whitney's life in Smith's *Highwaymen* owes nothing to either of these earlier narratives, and needless to say it owes little more to actual fact. While Smith does mention that Whitney was reprieved on his way to the gallows, and hanged the next week, he omits to give the reason. Moreover, though he does give the place of Whitney's execution correctly (he was finally hanged at Smithfield, not Tyburn), Smith dates it wrongly by almost a year, and then contradicts Luttrell on how it happened. According to Smith, Whitney was "tumbled out of this world into another" on December 19 1694, after having only "some few minutes . . . allowed him for his . . . private devotion."<sup>37</sup>

The same disregard for actualities can be seen in Smith's telling of the Golden Farmer's life. The only surviving printed accounts that antedate this "biography"—aside from a single, surviving ballad<sup>38</sup>—are two brief reports, one of the Golden Farmer's trial and the other of his dying behavior. Presumably similar accounts of Whitney were published, but have been lost. It is the latter of these two reports that is the more interesting. In it, the chaplain to Newgate Prison reports that

John Bennet alias Freeman, but more notoriously known by the name of the GOLDEN FARMER [was] condemned for the Murther of *Charles Taylor*, and several Robberies to the value of some thousand Pounds. I was with him several times in his Chamber, and exhorted him to disburthen his Conscience, by a free Confession of his Evil Courses, yet after much Advice for his Soules Welfare, and many Prayers that God would work his Heart to Repentance, nothing more than what follows could be obtained: That he had been a great Sinner, and was guilty of most Sins. That he was not so much

36 *The Jacobite Robber. An Account of the Famous Life, and Memorable Actions of Capt. Jam. Whitney, the Notorious Highway-Man, Who was Apprehended, and Committed to Newgate, on Saturday the 31. of December, 1692/3. The most Remarkable of whose Robberies were as followeth. On a Fat Parson of his Money, Canonuck, &c. And bestowing it on a Non-Jurant. Madam Palmer at Grays in Essex. Esq; Bird near Ware. The Lady Butler in Essex. Sir J. Read. Sir T. Draper. Reading and Bristol Coaches. Finchley. Highgate. Hamstead Three Brother Highway-Men. A Quack Doctor. Sir R. Buckley. Madam Boulds in Essex Wickham Fair. From Uxbridge to Hyde Park. Farnum Butchers. Chessum Butchers An Old Usurer. Man-*

*chester Carrier, & Smith Laceman* (London: A. Roper 1693), and *The Life of Captain James Whitney Containing, his Most Remarkable Robberies and other Adventures, &c Continued to his Execution near Smithfield Bars the first of February 1692/3* (London: A.R. [1693])

37 Smith *Highwaymen* 50.

38 *The Golden Farmer's Last Farewell. Who was arraigned and found guilty of wilfull Murther, and likewise many notorious Robberies, for which he received a due Sentence of Death, and was accordingly Executed on the 22d. of December, 1690 in Fleetstreet. To the Tune of The Rich Merchant Man* ([London]: P. Brooksby, J. Deacon, J. Blare, J. Back, n.d.).

grieved for the Shame of this condign Punishment, as for offending God. And that he was not solicitous to lengthen out his Life upon Earth, but to get his Pardon sealed in Heaven. He shed many Tears, yet said That he trusted only in Christ's Righteousness for Pardon and Peace in Conscience. . . .

Though Bennet "gave some Signs of great Remorse," he was not entirely so contrite as the chaplain could have wished him.<sup>39</sup>

Such details as these would not have been without interest to the contemporary audience, but in Smith's *Highwaymen* they are absent, as are also the particulars of Bennet's capture. Recognized as he rode through Salisbury Court (Smith does note this), and pursued by the mob after a hue and cry had been raised, Bennet shot Taylor (who was a soldier, not a butcher, as Smith claims) in his effort to escape. Followed to Southwark, where he mortally wounded another man, Bennet "could not be taken till he was knock'd down by Brick-bats."<sup>40</sup> Smith does not include these latter details either; but more important, he mistakenly identifies the Golden Farmer, claiming that he was a certain William Davis who was executed "on Friday, the 20th of December, 1689." Smith seems to have gotten Davis's name and the date of his execution from some surviving record, for there was indeed a William Davis hanged on the date he gives (or at least one was capitally convicted a few days before) but the account of Davis's trial does not identify him as the Golden Farmer and he was not charged with murdering a man in Salisbury Court; his offence was burglary.<sup>41</sup> While it hardly seems likely that Smith had either of the sources I have quoted before him as he wrote the Golden Farmer's life, it would seem very likely indeed that he knew he was wrong. He just could not have known so much about Davis without knowing that Davis was not the Golden Farmer; clearly Smith cared not at all for historical accuracy, and sought (when he felt the need of it) only after its appearance. Happening to have a name and a date at hand, he attached it to some appropriate adventures.<sup>42</sup> Nor did Smith's wrongness on the Golden Farmer go unnoticed at the time he wrote; the anonymous "N.B.," in the course of plagi-

39 Samuel Smith *A True Account of the Behaviour, Confession, and Last Dying Speeches of the 15 Criminals that were Executed on Monday the 22th [sic] of December, 1690* (London: Langley Curtis 1690).

40 *Proceedings . . . at Justice-Hall in the Old Baily on . . . the 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 17th . . . of December, 1690* ([London]: n.p., n.d.).

41 The real Golden Farmer would not be tried and hanged for yet another year. See Smith *Highwaymen* 36, and *Proceedings . . . at Justice-Hall in the Old Baily on . . . the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th . . . of December,*

1689 ([London]: n.p., n.d.), which gives an account of Davis's trial.

42 We know that these adventures are fictitious not only on the grounds of internal evidence here and elsewhere in Smith's book, but also because the reports of the Golden Farmer's trial, and that of certain of his accomplices (see fn. 44 below), include descriptions of some of his most notorious robberies. None of these, nor anything like them, appears in Smith's version of his life. Smith's version, however, is consistently more "interesting."

arizing Smith's account of the Golden Farmer's robberies for his own *Compleat Collection of Remarkable Tryals*, silently corrected him on the highwayman's real name and date of execution. Later writers follow Smith's version of the Golden Farmer's life even more slavishly, repeating the same errors, telling (with occasional embroideries) the same fanciful anecdotes about him, and omitting to mention anything of the last dark nights of his soul.<sup>43</sup>

Historical reality was similarly suppressed in the telling of the lives of other criminals. Old Mobb, a highwayman who rode with the Golden Farmer's gang and who was hanged unknown by any other name, was treated with much the same disregard as his master.<sup>44</sup> There is the case, too, of the notorious burglar Jack Hall, who was hanged in 1708 along with several accomplices.<sup>45</sup> Even Jack Sheppard, who got a good deal of relatively factual and sympathetic biographical attention, was turned into a lesser, grotesquer version of himself. Impersonated by an actor wearing a clown suit, he was made to re-enact his astonishing escapes from Newgate for the pleasure of theatre audiences.<sup>46</sup> What all these crimi-

43 N. B. *A Compleat Collection of Remarkable Tryals of the Most Notorious Malefactors, at the Sessions-House in the Old Bailey, for near Fifty Years past* (London: J. Philips 1718, and \*J. Brotherton & W. Meadows 1721) 1125-37. The correct information on Bennet appears to have come from the chaplain's account of his dying behavior, which N. B. quotes without attribution. For later accounts of the Golden Farmer, see, for instance, Capt Charles Johnson *General History of the Lives and Adventures of the Most Famous Highwaymen, Murderers, Street-Robbers, &c.* (London: J. Janeway 1734) and Capt Mackdonald *General History of the Lives and Adventures of the Most Famous Highwaymen, Murderers, Pirates, Street-Robbers, and Thief-Takers* (London: J. Warcus and H. Serjeant 1758). I might add that the Golden Farmer is still identified as William Davis by the British Museum Catalogue.

44 For the dying behavior of Old Mobb, whose contrition escaped Smith along with all but one or two of the real facts about him (including the actual date of his hanging), see Samuel Smith *True Account of the Behaviour, Confession, and Last Dying Speeches of the 8 Criminals that were Executed at Tyburn, on Friday the 18th of September, 1691* (London: Langley Curtis 1691). Old Mobb's trial is reported in *Proceedings . . . at Justice-Hall in the Old-Bailey. On . . . the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th . . . of September, 1691* ([London]: n.p., n.d.).

45 *The Memoirs of the Right Villanous John Hall, the Late Famous and Notorious Robber . . .* (London:

H. Hills 1708 [4th ed]), which purports to be "Penn'd from his own Mouth some time before his Death," is almost certainly inauthentic. Not only are the "memoirs" written in an idiom that would have been entirely alien to one who "could neither Read nor Write" (as Paul Lorrain described him) but they do not reveal, after all, anything particular about him or his exploits. The public would have known that he died tight-lipped, though contrite. "He own'd in general," wrote Lorrain, "that within these 3 Years last past he had committed a great many Robberies, some of them very considerable, in and about London; but he would not come to Particulars, saying, he had forgot them in great measure, and it would signifie nothing to any Person to know every ill thing he had done, for he could make no other amends to the Persons he had wrong'd, than to ask their Pardon" (*The Ordinary of Newgate his Account of the Behaviour, Confessions, and Last Speeches of the Malefactors that were Executed . . . Decemb. 17. 1707* [London: Benj. Bragg 1707]). The writer of Hall's *Memoirs* tried to explain Hall's diffidence away by making him comment harshly on Lorrain's exploitation of those criminals who did give him detailed confessions; he also tried to explain away the paradox that "a man may Write without being able to Write at all" (see 16, 3). Interestingly enough, the attack on Lorrain's character did not prevent Lorrain's *Accounts* from carrying advertisements for Hall's *Memoirs* on no fewer than seven occasions in 1709.

46 The pantomime based on Jack Sheppard's es-

nals have in common with Hind, Whitney, and the Golden Farmer is that the actual complexities of their lives, as people were aware of them at the time they died, are not at all to be found in works which later took them as centers of attention. The transformations of actual criminals into the entertaining rogues we find in Smith make convenient examples, but, as the popularity of his book alone would suggest, he was hardly atypical as a writer of criminal lives. His treatment of Hind, Whitney, and the Golden Farmer reflects a tendency in the popular imagination as a whole.

What lay behind this tendency? Why were the personal details of Hind's capture and incarceration (to return to our central example) discarded and lost, quite despite their intrinsic interest, quite despite the moral use to which they might so profitably have been put? Three possible answers suggest themselves; I have room here only to sketch them out. The first is perhaps too obvious, in the sense that it may blind us to other possibilities. Perhaps the idea of Hind as a particular person, as an individual facing his special destiny (a destiny after all to which all must come) was unnecessary, even inimical, to the pleasuring of those who liked to read about highwaymen. After all, if one is to ramble the highway vicariously with robbers, eschatological questions, to say nothing of simple morality, can be awkward encumbrances. Emptied of individual traits, Hind becomes a blank tablet on which the reader is to figure his own emotions, his own motives, his own drives. And what are these? No surprises here: dreams of power, grace, money for the asking. "Jack," Hind is reported to have said to a young man of his acquaintance, "if thou wilt live with me thou shalt have money at comand or any thing thou wantest."<sup>47</sup> And such presumably the reader who lived with Hind in his imagination would have had, as he robbed with him in ways that would have honored, however crudely, his sense of justice and social propriety, and which, at the same time, would have offered vicarious release for the usual variety of aggressive impulses—until finally the hangman's rope jerked him back to reality, forced him to repudiate his world of agreeable daydreams. For daydreams, to be sure, have eventually to be circumscribed by a sense of waking reality—but just barely, or else they would vanish utterly. And so perhaps it was that less and less of Hind's captivity and punishment appeared in the successive retellings of his story, until finally all that remained was the most minimal

capas from Newgate, *Harlequin Sheppard A Night Scene in Grotesque Characters* (1724), was performed seven times in late November and early December of 1724 at the Drury Lane Theatre. The *Weekly Journal or Saturday's Post* (Dec 5) reports that its first performance "was dismiss'd with a universal hiss.—And, indeed, if Shepherd had been as wretched, and as silly a Rogue

in the World as the ingenious and witty Managers have made him upon the Stage, the lower Gentry, who attended him to Tyburn, wou'd never have pittied him when he was hang'd" (see *The London Stage* part 2, 797–98, 801).

47 *No Jest like a true Jest* chapter xi



concession to the justice he was finally brought to face, the penalty that finally he was made to pay. Smith's elaboration on Hind's end does not really contradict my point, for in his fictitious version of the event (as I presume it is) there is nothing miserable in Hind's execution, only heroic; and this is just another way of denying the eventual consequence of crime.

But in none of this, it should be noted, is there anything specifically historical. To speak of the pleasures of vicarious aggression, and the ultimate intrusion of the super-ego (however perfunctory this may be), is only, after all, to be speaking in terms of what we might assume of the individual reader's psychology in any historical period. Why should people in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries have wanted to identify with highwaymen? It is the opinion of one historian—and a most usual opinion it is—that “the highwayman in a sense was, of course, bound to be a hero, for he was a rebel, a free man in a society in which those who were not free were exploited and oppressed.” That is, he was “a sort of emblematic figure of liberty and pleasure . . . in revolt against the law and against morality.”<sup>48</sup> But this is not very helpful; there is no special reason to believe that those who could afford both the money to buy and the time to read the lives of highwaymen actually lived in a period that was, for people of their class, any more oppressive or exploitative than any other, or that they felt they lived in such a period. The appeal of the criminal to law-abiding people has been explained in a different though hardly irrelevant context by Bertolt Brecht. His thesis is perhaps more useful than the perfunctory argument just quoted; certainly it is more outrageous: “The predilection of the bourgeois for gangsters is explained by a fallacy: that a gangster is not a bourgeois. Is there then no difference between them? Yes: a gangster is often no coward.”<sup>49</sup> That the rise of the highwayman as a figure of popular attention corresponds with the rise of the middle classes could well be significant. In his own peculiar way the highwayman represents the dark attractions of economic individualism carried to its most egoistic, and most gratifying, extremes. Indeed, from a certain point of view, the highwayman's way of getting on in the world would have seemed entirely natural, just what any man would do if freed from social constraint, and understandably even be admired for. “Amongst men, till there were constituted great Common-wealths,” wrote Hobbes, that great discernor of where the values of secular individualism could lead, “it was thought no dishonour to be a Pyrate, or a High-way

<sup>48</sup> Christopher Hibbert *Highwaymen* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson 1967) 119. *Threepenny Opera* tr Desmond Vacey and Eric Bentley (NY: Grove 1964) 101.

<sup>49</sup> “Notes to *The Threepenny Opera*” in *The*

Theefe; but rather a lawful Trade.”<sup>50</sup> Perhaps it is significant, then, that one of Defoe’s newspapers was barely ironic when, after the great financial crash of the South-Sea Bubble, it reported that certain stockbrokers had taken to robbing on the highway. This was no more than could be expected, the next logical step.<sup>51</sup> To readers of Smith, especially, such news would have come as no surprise. “I follow the general way of the world, sir,” as one of his highwaymen says, expressing an oft-repeated idea; it is a world, he need hardly point out, “which now prefers money before friends or honesty.”<sup>52</sup>

Putting the values of economic individualism aside, however, the period’s interest in highwaymen might be related far more simply, and a good deal less contentiously, to the rising rate of crime or, at least, to the rising awareness of crime. In the latter part of the seventeenth century, and all through the eighteenth, there is the feeling that housebreakers and pickpockets are on the increase, that the roads are becoming increasingly dangerous, that one is safe neither at home nor abroad.<sup>53</sup> There may have been an actual basis for this feeling; certainly as London grew ever larger and increasingly anonymous, and as the old social patterns all over the country began to break down and change, there were not only increasing opportunities for crime, but fewer inhibitions against committing it. The word “highwayman” appeared in print not only during the Civil War, the year after the king had been killed, but, interestingly enough, after a decade of great economic hardship.<sup>54</sup> In his own time Hind would have been a symbol, to be sure, of what one man could achieve when he set himself out against a weakened social order, but he would also have been an object of fear. One of the aims of the author of *The English Gusman*, apparently, was to make Hind seem less terrible. Calling attention to his “resolution undaunted,” his “wit, and conceit (for design) unexampled,” Fidge ventures to hope in the preface to the book that “what

<sup>50</sup> *Leviathan* ed C. B. Macpherson (Baltimore: Penguin 1968) 156–57.

<sup>51</sup> *Applebee’s Original Weekly Journal*, which was edited by Defoe, carries two rather matter-of-fact items about an “Exchange Broker” and a former “Stock-Jobber,” both of whom were taken up for robbing the Bristol Mail (Oct 14 and 21 1721, respectively). Even before the South-Sea crash could have made such men desperate, the *Original Weekly Journal* had complained that “of late [exchange brokers] have not been satisfied with a private and extravagant Plunder of unwary Persons, but have audaciously ventur’d publickly to join the Gentlemen Demandants of our Coin by the Authority of Pistol and Ball” (Feb 6 1720; see also Mar 12, and Apr 2 and 13; and also the *Weekly Journal or Saturday’s*

*Post* Apr 16 and July 2 1720).

<sup>52</sup> *Highwaymen* 451; for similar comments see also p 181, 315–17, 491.

<sup>53</sup> Sir Leon Radzinowicz surveys the “general sense of insecurity” produced by the threat of crime in his *History of English Criminal Law and its Administration from 1750* (London: Stevens & Sons 1948–68) 1 29–31.

<sup>54</sup> The years between 1620 and 1650 were especially hard in England, as P. J. Bowden has shown, especially the 1640s; see *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* IV (1500–1640) ed Joan Thirk (Cambridge Univ Press 1967) 620–21, as cited by Christopher Hill in *The World Turned Upside Down* (NY: Viking 1972) 17, 87.

hatred the effect of his Feates purchased, the quaintness of them palliated." Though Clavell was luckier than Hind is likely to be, Fidge still believes that Hind will "die much more belov'd."<sup>55</sup> In later times Hind's life would have been read against the awareness of highwaymen still stalking the roads, none of whom in actual fact would have seemed so gentlemanly, so quaint, so palliatable (and therefore so palatable) as Hind appears in fiction. As we have already heard *Hind's Ramble* insisting, "he was Charitable to the poor; and was a man that never murdered any on the Road; and always gave men a jest for their money." Hind and his confrères are ideal criminals in more than one sense—not only in what they do, but in how and to whom. The reader may well have identified with both sides of their transactions. But even if he did not, even if he fit himself only into the role of the victimizer and not the victim, we could not automatically assume that here the reader was giving vent to secret criminal impulses. Where so many were so afraid of falling victim to criminals—and where there were so many criminals to fall victim to—identification with the highwayman could well have served as a mechanism for psychic defence. I have in mind here what psychologists call "identification with the aggressor." Certainly among all those criminal aggressors with whom one may have identified, highwaymen like Hind would have been the most attractive.

There may yet be a third reason why the highwayman, generally purged of his actual personal characteristics, was made into a figure larger than life and yet something less than a man. This too is connected with the period's rising awareness of crime; here the dominant emotion would have been not fear, but guilt. Hind's own period was notably uneasy about imposing capital punishment for theft. In pamphlets like William Tomlinson's *Of hanging for theft, so filling the land with blood* (1657) and Samuel Chidley's *Cry against a Crying Sin: Or, a just Complaint to the Magistrates, against them who have broken the Statute Laws of God, by Killing of Men merely for Theft* (1652), political radicals argued against the exaltation of property over life.<sup>56</sup> Their voices were stilled with the Restoration, and even during the Interregnum they probably never represented the majority view of those who could afford the time and money to read about Hind and his ilk. Still, some uneasiness would appear to have persisted over the next hundred and fifty years, even as the capital statutes

55 *The English Gusman* [v].

56 Tomlinson's tract is partially reproduced in Basil Montagu's *Rise and Progress of the Mitigation of the Punishment of Death* (London: J. Butterworth and Son 1822) 28–35; Chidley's pamphlet is reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany* (1808–11) vi 272–88, and also by Montagu in *The Opinions of Different Authors Upon*

*the Punishment of Death* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown 1812–16) iii 428–53. Donald Veall gives a brief account of the agitation against the severity of the criminal law during the Commonwealth in *The Popular Movement for Law Reform, 1640–1660* (Oxford: Clarendon 1970) 127–36.



The original caption for this engraving by I. Basire after W. Jett facing p 89 of Johnson's *A General History . . .* (London: Olive Payne 1736) reads, with gentle understatement, "Capt. Hind Robbing Col. Harrison in Maidenhead Thicker"  
—Rare Book Division

multiplied. Every apologist for the cruelty of English justice—which time and time again we are told is the most humane in the world—had to argue his way around or utterly to ignore the fact that neither natural law nor God in His Holy Writ had sanctioned the taking of life for offences against property. No one who studied the English law, moreover, could avoid being reminded of “the lamentable case,” as Sir Edward Coke calls it in the third of his *Institutes*, of all the “many Christian men and women strangled on that cursed tree of the gallows.” If all those who were hanged in any single year could be brought together “in a large field,” he imagines, the sight would be enough to make the heart of anyone with “any spark of grace, or charity in him . . . bleed for pity and compassion.”<sup>57</sup>

More than the other points I have been advancing here, this would require the careful marshalling of evidence in order to be fully convincing. More than the others, I know, it upsets our stereotype of the eighteenth century as bloodthirsty, as valuing property more than the lives of the poor. I do not want to abolish that stereotype altogether. On the surface, on the level of practical action, it still holds true; what I do want to suggest (I haven’t the space to argue it here) is that such a posture did not come cheap. The hanging of highwaymen, perhaps because in their own perverse ways they had given themselves over so completely to the values of the age, may well have made for bad conscience. Again and again we read in connection with the lives (and deaths) of such criminals Garth’s biting lines: “Little villains must submit to Fate, / That great ones may enjoy the world in state.”<sup>58</sup> The cost of attacking politicians and financiers with this comparison—which becomes an eighteenth-century truism—is that in tending to exculpate the lesser rogue it questions, if only implicitly, the justice of hanging him. Obviously one way to solve this problem is not to take at all seriously the highwayman, his crimes, or his whole course of life. It is easier, more comfortable, to forget that he ever was a living, breathing man who, vulnerable to pain and suffering, sweated out his last days in prison waiting to be hanged and praying for God’s mercy on his benighted soul (if indeed he did).

It may have been for these three reasons, then, that Hind, for all that he endured over the winter and summer of 1651–52, cuts essentially the same figure in *Wit for Mony* and *No Jest like a true Jest* as he did in *Hind’s Ramble* and *The Prince of Priggs*. Those few individual characteristics that survived longest in the successive accounts of his life—and so (one as-

57 Epilogue to *The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England* (London: M. Flesher for W. Lee, and D. Pakeman [1644]).

58 Steele took these lines as the motto for the *Englishman* no. 48 (Jan 23 1714), where he interrupts some meditations on the “unhappy Passion” of ambition

with some puffery for Smith’s *Highwaymen* (which he admits he has not yet had a chance to read). In reprinting Steele’s praises in the preface to his second volume (see *Highwaymen* 212–13), Smith quotes these lines yet again. Captain Johnson’s *Highwaymen* (1734) 1, paraphrases them and attributes them to Garth.

sumes) those most valuable in the minds of the people who wrote and read about him—had been present from the very first, not in him, but in the public conception of him: he was witty, not cruel, a Cavalier of sorts, a bold man who robbed with a flourish. All that was published between his capture and his execution—at least all that survives in the British Museum—served in the long run only to reinforce an image that, however much it shimmered and threatened to disappear, never quite gave place to the actual man. However we explain this phenomenon, Hind's case is important. The tendencies to be observed in the telling of his life—the avoidance of moral questions, the eschewal of all but the most primitive kind of characterization, the absence of plot to the point of jettisoning even the prison chaplain's view of the fall and possible rise of a potentially Christian soul—all these tendencies are to be found not only in Smith and the kinds of pamphlets on which he models his accounts, but also, at greater length, in the criminal biography that seemingly anticipates the novel.

If I am right in supposing that the reader's vicarious involvement in Hind's adventures was hedged by fear and guilt, and that these emotions, as well as a sort of envy, guided the shape and content of Hind's successive lives, then possibly it may prove profitable to look for these same emotions in or behind Defoe's novels. Arnold Kettle has claimed that *Moll Flanders* is important because in it Defoe "tackled the big, central human problems of his time and went deep, revealing the contradictions as well as the surface qualities, and revealing them in a form which in itself illuminates their nature because it springs from them."<sup>59</sup> Perhaps we may find it easier to illuminate these contradictions, and Defoe's response to them, if we look at *Moll Flanders* against the background of the primitive fictions that passed for a certain kind of criminal biography. The nullification of the highwayman as a human being is a consequence not only of the "flattening" effects of fear, guilt, and the wish to be vicariously involved; it is a consequence also of two opposite forces cancelling each other out. By exaggerating the individualism his society permitted and encouraged to the point where it became anti-social, the highwayman would seem to have tested, in his very attractiveness, the reader's allegiance to the contrary values of law and order that protected not only his life but his property as well. The more actual the highwayman, the less he seemed an easily dismissible rogue, the more strongly would he have raised all the contradictions he embodied and which, understandably enough, the popular audience chose to ignore. This leaves us with some teasing questions. How (not to say why) did Defoe choose to write about

59 "In Defence of *Moll Flanders*" in *Of Books and Humankind* ed John Butt (London: Routledge & K. Paul 1964) 67.



fictional criminals as if they were actual persons? If his novels indeed are efforts to explore, rather than merely to suppress the issues raised by criminals, how was it they were so successful? For even if everything else I have said about the lives of Hind, Whitney, and the Golden Farmer may, without further evidence, seem dubious, this by now must certainly be clear: against Hind, against all those many others like him in the popular literature of crime, Moll—along with Jack and Roxana, even Singleton—would have stood out fresh and new. *Moll Flanders*, we know, was followed by several sequels purporting to establish just who its heroine was, and where and how she died; she was that real, that much an object of curiosity in her own right.<sup>60</sup> And little wonder that this should have been the case, to an audience that came to read of her adventures with “histories” like Smith’s still running in their minds. In writing fictions that were seemingly true, Defoe reversed the tendency of the popular literature of criminal roguery, which—to whatever ends—worked to transform truths into seeming fiction.

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60 For example, in the collection of the British Museum are the following: *The Life and Actions of Moll Flanders, Containing . . . her second settlement and happy success in Virginia, and settlement in Ireland; her estate, penitence, age, death, burial, elegy and epitaph* (London: T. Read 1723); *Fortune's Fickle Distribution: in three parts. Containing first, The Life and*

*Death of Moll Flanders . . . Part II. The Life of Jane Hackabout, her governess . . . Part III. The Life of James Mac-Faul, Moll Flanders's Lancashire husband . . .* (Dublin: the Booksellers 1730); and *The History of Laetitia Atkins, vulgarly called Moll Flanders* (London: printed for the editor and sold by F. Noble and T. Lowndes 1776).

JANE MARCUS

## “Clio in Calliope”

### History and Myth in Meredith’s *Diana of the Crossways*

#### I THE NOVEL AND HISTORY

WHEN THOMAS CARLYLE urged George Meredith to write history, Meredith replied that he did—in the novel: “I make History sing! Clio in Calliope.” He mixed his muses, his metaphors, and his myths to achieve his effect, remaining constant only to Clio and the female heart. One is tempted to say “the human heart,” for a critic once remarked that *Diana*’s success was due to the ease with which men could identify with the heroine. (Virginia Woolf remarked of the author: “He does not sing only; he dissects.”)

History has rewarded Meredith’s faith. *Diana of the Crossways* brought him fame in 1885, a renewed reputation in 1897, a spate of hero-worship from 1908 to 1911 at the height of the suffrage movement, and, most recently with the 1973 Norton paperback, a new readership of students and feminists. It is this new readership I wish to address, to meet students’ objections to Diana as “an ideal of the heroic feminine type.” They object to her marriage to Redworth as much as earlier critics objected to her flight from Warwick.

Meredith had anticipated such objections. The novel, he argued in his opening chapter, could never cut off its roots in social history. Once women’s wrongs were righted, the example of Diana could be dangerous: “For when the fictitious creature has performed that service of helping to civilize the world, it becomes the most dangerous of delusions, causing first the individual to despise the mass, and then to join the mass in crushing the individual” (p 17).<sup>1</sup> Meredith saw that the individual struggle of the hero or heroine against society could

<sup>1</sup> The text quoted here is the Norton paperback edition (NY 1973) with an introduction by Lois Fowler. I have also used J. A. Hammerton’s *George Meredith: His Life and Art in Anecdote and Criticism* (Edinburgh: John Grant 1911), Lady Butler’s *Memories of George Meredith* (NY: Scribner’s 1919), and *The Letters of*

*George Meredith* ed C. L. Cline (3 vols, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1970). The most interesting essays on *Diana of the Crossways* are Jan B. Gordon’s “Internal History and the Brainstuff of Fiction” in *Meredith Now* ed Ian Fletcher (NY: Barnes and Noble 1972) and a chapter in Gillian Beer’s *Meredith: A Change of*



be revolutionary or reactionary, depending on social conditions. Clearly the divorce laws have been changed and some measure of political equality has been achieved, though not enough to deny Diana's passionate quest for personal freedom a strong basis in reality. Meredith argued convincingly in his *Essay on Comedy*—and continued the argument in his didactic introductory chapter—that absolute equality between the sexes is necessary for comedy to flourish. In the interim, he suggested, the novelist takes up philosophy, history, mythology, and psychology, until social conditions relieve him of his moral burden and he may flirt with form and dally with the Comic Spirit to his heart's content.

It is admittedly a little shocking to come upon this statement of alarm about the role of the revolutionary heroine once the revolution has taken place. Meredith had great faith in the power of art to change human lives. A great nineteenth-century hero like Siegfried appears to us now, as Shaw said, too Bakunin-like to bear. His anarchism and anti-intellectualism are frightening, now that some measure of democracy has been accomplished in the western world. Yet Brünnhilde is still heroic; her struggle both to be her father's will and to break it, still moves us. Meredith foresaw the day when Brünnhildes and Dianas would seem individualistic and reactionary. But that day is not yet here.

The interesting question is whether Diana, Meredith's fictional heroine, did help to "civilize the world," as Meredith put it. Caroline Norton, her historical counterpart, certainly did. Sheridan's granddaughter was largely responsible for the Infants' Custody Act of 1839 and the 1857 Act which provided protection for deserted, separated, or divorced wives. As a poem in *Punch* June 30 1877 claimed, despite gossip and scandal Caroline Norton "gave back scorn for scorn." The muse of history must have been muttering under her breath when the republication of *Diana of the Crossways* in 1897 revived the scandal of the state secret. A case was brought to court; Mrs Norton was vindicated; her name was cleared (as it had been in the divorce suit which named Lord Melbourne) and Meredith prefaced his new edition with the cautionary note that his work must be read as fiction. But fiction and history are now inextricably interwoven. It is curious that although Meredith took as his model a woman who fought long and hard for custody of her own children and extended the battle into the political arena so that other women would benefit, he made his heroine virginal. Of course motherhood and fertility constitute a deep underchord in the novel, but

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*Masks; A Study of the Novels* (London: Athlone Press 1970). Diane Johnson's *The True History of the First Mrs Meredith and Other Lesser Lives* (NY: Knopf 1972) is an original attempt at a new biographical form, but not very useful on the subject of Meredith himself.

I am grateful to my students at SUNY, Stony Brook, particularly Carol Rudman, who forced me to develop these arguments. To Margaret Comstock, David Erdman, and Samuel Hynes I am indebted for many painstaking criticisms and suggestions.

they are not immediately apparent. And then Caroline Norton's husband did not die until she was 67 years old. At 69 she remarried. In the novel, Diana's husband Warwick is conveniently killed in an accident, and Diana is young, attractive, and chaste when she remarries.

We know that Meredith actually met Mrs Norton at the Duff Gordons', but for his portrait of Diana he also drew upon other women he had known, among them the learned recluse Mrs Wood, who paid Meredith to read to her; her niece Kitty O'Shea, Parnell's mistress; Meredith's first wife, who was Peacock's daughter; and Janet Duff Gordon, a young friend of the Copsham cottage period. But most important of all, I think, for the invention of Diana were the words of an anonymous reviewer in the *Westminster Review* (July 1864) who forged a literary link between "two novelists with a purpose" as "social reformers" and "social accusers." Caroline Norton's *Lost and Saved* and Meredith's *Ordeal of Richard Feverel* and *Sandra Belloni* were acclaimed together as serious novels:

Women have especial need, as the world goes, to be shrewd, self-reliant, and strong; and we do all we can in our literature to render them helpless, imbecile, and idiotic. When Charlotte Brontë endeavoured to do otherwise, we can all recollect that a prudish scream was raised against her, and genteel virtue affected to be horrified with the authoress who drew women and girls endowed with human passion. Something of the same kind has been said against the authoress of "Adam Bede;" and there was a time when a discreet Englishwoman would have blushed to acknowledge acquaintance even with a chapter of George Sand. We are so thoroughly impressed with the conviction that art and morals alike suffer by the prudish conventionalities of our present English style, that we are inclined to welcome rebellion against it merely because it is rebellion. We are disposed to give a friendly reception to George Meredith and Mrs. Norton, were it for nothing but the mere fact that conventionality might be inclined to shriek out against them. A Parisian critic lately, when noticing some objections urged against the numerous undraped Graces, and Bacchantes, and Nymphs, and Ledas in the season's Exhibition, drily remarked that so long as vast skirts, and hoops, and spoon-bonnets endured, it was a relief to get a glimpse of the true outlines of womanhood under any circumstances. We own to something of a kindred feeling in regard to our English fiction.

It certainly put wind into the sails of the self-styled champion of free women to be linked with a famous woman who had actually accomplished radical political goals; he was now a serious novelist like her. And it did his ego no harm (after the disastrous failure of his first marriage) to be mentioned in the same breath with a lady so sexually attractive, charming, and witty. Nor have the ironies of Clio ceased. Meredith's deliberately anachronistic novel looks more and more like Caroline Norton's deliberately anachronistic life. Both reputations rise and fall with historical waves of feminism. Caroline suffered at the hands of feminists like Harriet Martineau, who found that her personal style and evident female

sexuality disqualified her for the title of disinterested feminist, despite her magnificent achievements in the field of women's rights. The history of English feminism has yet to be written which gives Norton her rightful place. As with Wollstonecraft, the very tragedy of her life as a female caused later puritanical and intellectual feminists to disdain her actual accomplishments.

Caroline Norton's flamboyant passion and intellect recall the eighteenth century and were out of place in Victorian England. Ironically the Reform Bill of 1832, her first political passion, actually deprived women of the right to vote. In this cause she met Lord Melbourne, and their political, intellectual, and emotional intimacy destroyed her life. "The Byron of modern poetesses" of 1840 is not remembered today as novelist or poet, or even as the champion of the Custody of Children Acts, but as the scandalous figure in a divorce trial with Lord Melbourne. No matter that the case against her was lost. She suffered for a lifetime, and the shadow of that ancient scandal still hovers, to influence the reading of *The Letters of Caroline Norton to Lord Melbourne* just published.<sup>2</sup> Editor Hoge believes he detects in the tone of the letters "the discarded mistress" rather than "the disappointed friend." To me the letters suggest an angry, reproachful woman who has been deserted by her powerful, loving friend. They were not known to Alice Acland when she wrote her fine biography of this romantic friendship,<sup>3</sup> but their discovery does not essentially alter that portrait of the relationship.

What the letters strikingly demonstrate, however, is that Meredith was psychologically unerring in his portrait of Diana and her relationship with Dacier. Indeed Meredith may well have read these letters, so close are their passion and force, their abrupt reversals, to those he assigns to Diana. At first Caroline's epistles to her political friend are flirtatious and bold; they even allude to the acting out of roles from her grandfather Sheridan's plays. But her marriage was destroyed by her politics, not by infidelity, whatever the truth or falsehood of that still unproven charge. Her husband and his friends took revenge on the liberals; Melbourne and Caroline were victims of a deeper anger than would have been aroused by the friendship of a powerful old man and a spirited young woman if party had not been involved. Sheridan had been passionately in love with Lady Bessborough, Melbourne's wife's mother. His wife had been Caroline Lamb, of Byronic fame. That their relationship would be passionate and tragic seemed almost predictable.

Alice Acland has shown that many of the traits of Meredith's Diana derive from his in-

<sup>2</sup> *The Letters of Caroline Norton to Lord Melbourne* ed James O. Hoge and Clarke Olney (Ohio State Univ Press 1974).

<sup>3</sup> Alice Acland *Caroline Norton* (London: Constable 1948).



Women Meredith knew, whom he may have drawn upon for his portrait of Diana Warwick in *Diana of the Crossways*: Mary Ellen Peacock Meredith (upper left), drawing by Henry Wallis (from Diane Johnson *The True History of the First Mrs. Meredith and Other Lesser Lives* [NY: Alfred A. Knopf 1972]); Caroline Norton (upper right), engraving by Thomson, 1833, after a portrait by Hayter—*Prints Division*; Janet Duff Gordon Ross (lower left), portrait by Valentine Prinsep (from her book *The Fourth Generation; Reminiscences* [NY: Scribner's 1912]); and Kitty O'Shea Parnell in 1880 (lower right), (from her book *Charles Stewart Parnell; His Love Story and Political Life* [NY: Doran 1914])

sight into the personality of Caroline Norton, and the letters reveal even more of the psychic reality of their similarity. Yet Meredith's purpose, however much he may have known about Caroline from the Duff Gordons, was to attack sentimentality about women and in women, for an audience of women who would, he hoped, be better mothers to a new generation by giving them a courage modeled on Diana's.

In 1902 he was still explaining Diana to his lady friends. To Lady Ulrica Duncombe's disapproval he replied that "Goethe would have appreciated her." And he lectured her on the ignorance of brides and the necessity of coeducation: marriage can be reformed when "English girls have wiser mothers. Such donkeys are those dames in all our classes."<sup>4</sup> Women have no idea, he said, how strongly men desire "complete possession, down to absorption," of their wives. Diana's experience was universal except for "the frigid or the tepid." The Comic Spirit had the final thrust, affirming that women do indeed have sexual desires: "The happy accident of the absence of opportunity has helped to the rescue of many eminent virgins at critical moments." No wonder women liked him! A woman novelist remarked that his knowledge of women was "almost indecent," but Oliver Elton in *Modern Studies* faulted Meredith for having "reversed the order of Paradise."

Calliope took a few other liberties with Clio's version of reality. Along with the transformation of Caroline Norton's sex life and her age at remarriage, fiction had uses for the actual "facts" of history. Some phrases in the novel denouncing gossip and scandal were actually lifted from a newspaper piece defending Lord Palmerston in the divorce scandal. In the incident of Diana's bringing a Tory secret to the editor of *The Times*, one wonders how much personal regret and wish were involved, for in his day as a journalist, Meredith, the supposed radical, had written leaders and editorials for Tory papers.

Clio had other tricks up her sleeve, however, and the current revival of *Diana of the Crossways* is one of them. But its revival today is much easier to explain than its vogue in 1908-11. For Meredith's heroines then were not dear to the hearts of the suffragettes, but to another, possibly overlapping group of women, best described by Christopher Lasch and William Taylor as the "sisterhood of sensibility." Their essay sheds light on the relationship between Emma and Diana and a large audience of women who experienced similar intellectual friendships.<sup>5</sup> They describe the relationship of the American novelists Sarah Edgarton and Mrs Case as exactly that of Emma and Diana: "an ideal of pure friendship between women, based on a shared sensitivity. . . ."

<sup>4</sup> *Letters* 1438-39.

<sup>5</sup> Christopher Lasch and William Taylor "Two 'Kindred Spirits': Sorority and Family in New England

1839-1846" reprinted in Lasch, ed *The World of Nations* (NY: Knopf 1973).

What they sought in literature was not so much craft as companionship, and their most eloquent flights—expressed in the amorous language which was the characteristic style of feminine friendship in the nineteenth century—were addressed not to the muse but to each other. But the ideal of pure friendship, given the peculiar moral atmosphere of the period, grew quite logically out of a devotion to literature. With whom, after all, could a woman converse, assuming that she was endowed with the refinement which qualified her in the first place to write of the beauties of the "spiritual" life, except with other women so endowed? (Lasch p 25)

The "sisterhood of sensibility," as the social historians describe it, was founded not on reform but on a dream of "gypsy freedom," that same freedom which Diana and Emma discuss as they pore over their Latin books, the "*Libertas*" which Caroline Norton took as her pen name. This phenomenon, which Lasch and Taylor describe as an alternative to crumbling family and religious institutions, seems to me to be a pastoral vision in female terms of the free life dreamed of by the young heroes of nineteenth-century novels. Lasch and Taylor see the myth of the purity of women as a last-ditch effort of people to find a unifying principle in society, as well as a "reorientation of domestic life around the ideal of privacy." They argue:

But the cult of women and the Home contained contradictions that tended to undermine the very things they were supposed to safeguard. Implicit in the myth was a repudiation not only of heterosexuality but of domesticity itself. It was her purity, contrasted with the coarseness of men, that made woman the head of the Home (though not of the family) and the guardian of public morality. But the same purity made intercourse between men and women at last almost literally impossible and drove women to retreat almost exclusively into the society of their own sex, to abandon the very Home which it was their appointed mission to preserve. (29)

Here is the crux of the matter. One thinks of the exclusion of poor Sir Lukin, Emma's husband, from the world of the wood nymphs and his remorse about his life with London prostitutes. But what else was possible for him? If Emma was the angel in the house, Lukin was forced to play the devil. The actual result of putting women on the pedestal was: no children. Emma as much as tells Diana that her illness is the result of sexual repressions, that chastity has broken her home, not preserved it. She leads Diana toward fertility, yes, but not loss of freedom.

The "sisterhood of sensibility" was not unusual. Virginia Woolf in her essay "*Geraldine and Jane*" describes the friendship between Jane Carlyle and the novelist Geraldine Jewsbury in similar terms. Jane thought her friend's novel *Zoë* was more "indecent" than George Sand, but they felt that their intellectual friendship would be an example as women struggled toward freedom. Their letters contain hope for the future:

I do not think that either you or I are to be called failures . . . we have looked and tried, and found that the present rules for woman will not hold us. . . . There are women to come after us, who will approach nearer the fullness of the measure of the stature of woman's nature.<sup>6</sup>

One critic described reading Meredith as "like construing a difficult chapter in Thucydides," and often this is true. The most deeply felt passages are the scenes between Emma and Diana, when the muse of history is forgotten for the moment, and Calliope holds sway. History is better served by this arrangement, of course, and it is their friendship which lights up our memory of the novel. The conscious effort to write the historical novel, explained in the preface, shows Meredith deliberately composing flat jokes and boring witticisms because his theory of comedy demands it. Women were less free then; the wit must have been less telling. This merely puts off the reader. We learn our history lesson while the teacher is out of the room. The technique of revealing the ignorance of our unenlightened ancestors through their deliberately concocted unfunny witticisms fails Meredith, the conscious historical novelist. He is nearer to both truth and comedy when he gives us Sir Lukin in remorse or Lady Wathin defending morality or the brilliantly satiric portrait of English virginity, not as historical types but as eternally frail human beings. Constance Asper, cold, marmoreal Britannia, pedestalled high on the white cliffs of Dover, is surely an ancestor of Ford's portrait of Sylvia Satterthwaite Tietjens in *No More Parades*. Meredith's men get the women they deserve. Constance Asper is not satirized as herself, but as the English Tory's dream-woman in the flesh:

He had the English taste for red and white, and for cold outlines: he secretly admired a statuesque demeanor with a statue's eyes. The national approbation of reserved haughtiness in woman, a tempered disdain in her slightly lifted small upper lip and drooped eyelids, was shared by him; and Constance Asper, if not exactly aristocratic by birth, stood well for that aristocratic insular type, which seems to promise the husband of it a casket of all the trusty virtues, as well as the security of frigidity in the casket. Such was Dacier's native taste.<sup>7</sup>

From October 23 to November 18 1908 a series of miniature "portraits" of Meredith heroines was exhibited in the Doré Gallery. His grand women were captured in "exquisite little paintings on ivory." Hammerton tells us that Mr Bedford had spent many years "searching out fair sitters who already possessed many of the physical charms of the heroines" (Hammerton 380). Shortly afterward, Hodder and Stoughton published a large and luxurious "birthday book" lavishly done, the plates interspersed with quotations from the

6 Virginia Woolf *Second Common Reader* (NY: Harcourt, Brace 1960) 179.      7 *Diana* p 186.





Diana Warwick (above left) and Lady Dunstane (above), from the series of miniature portraits of Meredith heroines painted by Herbert Bedford, and reproduced in his *The Heroines of George Meredith* ([London:] Hodder and Stoughton [n.d.])—*General Research and Humanities Division*



Left: Julia Jackson (later Mrs Leslie Stephen, and friend and correspondent to George Meredith), before her first marriage, photograph by Julia Margaret Cameron —*Berg Collection*



novels of two types, physical description of the heroines and scenes of female friendship.

Now, what is one to make of this? At the height of the Suffragette Movement, the book was obviously not aimed at an audience of "the shrieking sisterhood." Meredith had deliberately left out of his novels the standard romantic descriptions of his heroines, and Bedford had to work hard to dig up his material. That he painted miniatures says something about his response to the social fear of strong women, and also about an audience which clearly wanted to be reminded, through Meredith, of an ideal woman decidedly not of "the heroic type." The book, large enough for two laps, was the perfect gift for those women who were not concerned with reform but shared a wish for freedom. A portrait of Diana is on the cover and is very like the real Caroline Norton. She has the profile of a Greek goddess, a "noble brow," and white drapery around her shoulders.

The idea of a Georgian miniaturist painting the literary heroines of an earlier generation at the height of the suffrage movement is curious in itself. The miniatures reinstate a view of womanhood the omission of which was deliberate on Meredith's part. One cannot imagine two ladies poring over a book of paintings of Jane Austen's heroines, or George Eliot's. The "sisterhood of sensibility" responded to a vision of the ideal, while their less sensitive sisters fought in the streets. One suspects that Meredith's Diana had indeed become "dangerous" but not for the reasons he had anticipated. The format of this book domesticates his Diana and uses her to reinforce ideals of passivity.

## II FEMINISM AND THE NOVEL

Virginia Woolf was born at the same time *Diana* was. Meredith and Julia Stephen wrote to one another about the difficulties of bringing to birth their respective children. The daughter of Julia Stephen, growing up to be a novelist and an intellectual, accepted the influence of her spiritual godfather, his feminism and socialism, and rejected her mother's wifely role as "princess to a patriarch." She inherited Meredith's belief that the novel belongs to the middle-class imagination, is upwardly mobile, and struggles against even the most sincere author's attempt to move downward. She praised his "brisk, inquisitive and combative" efforts to deal with class distinctions even though he knew he would fail. There is still great resistance to reading *Diana* in the class terms which Meredith made so explicit. Plainly, however, Diana is shown to achieve identity only after rising in London society and then rejecting it. Giving up her luxurious London flat as well as her inherited Crossways, she buys a cottage and assumes the class identity of a cottager, comfortable at last with herself as Mrs Warwick, widow. From this position her marriage to Redworth, "the rich Radical," is possible. The reader is pleased with the comic author's pleasure in reversing the course of

the sentimental heroine. But it is by no means downhill all the way (as with *Tess* or *A Mummer's Wife*, where the class values are held rigid).

In a letter to Virginia Woolf's mother, Meredith described the process of creating Diana as "traversing feminine labyrinths." "Traversing" suggests the switch-backs in descending a mountain trail, as well as a troubled voyage into unconscious motivation (Diana says "the black dog of consciousness refuses to be shaken off"). There is a spot part way down the mountain where Diana finds her own level. In mythological terms it is like the sacred grove at Nemi, where Diana Nemorensis haunts the woodland glade. E. M. Forster described this perfectly, despite his distaste for the "suburban roarer" in Meredith: "A Meredithian plot is not a temple to the tragic or even the comic Muse, but rather resembles a series of kiosks most artfully placed among wooded slopes, which his people reach by their own impetus, and from which they emerge with altered aspect."<sup>8</sup>

In her perceptive "glass box" essay, "The Niece of an Earl," which deals so well with class in English fiction, Woolf notes the "tremendous strain" on Meredith to struggle with class distinctions despite the resistance of the novel as a genre. The comic spirit relishes these distinctions and keeps English fiction from Russian pitfalls, "the immensity of the soul and the brotherhood of man." Forster was annoyed with Meredith's "We live but to be sword or block," and Forster's refusal of the sword has led to our present view of him as part of the block. (His liberal anti-fascism looks rather timid today.) Woolf (brandishing her own sword as feminist, socialist, and pacifist) praised Meredith as "a great innovator" and answered the critics' charges against his style: "the English language is naturally exuberant, and the English character full of humours and eccentricities. Meredith's flamboyancy has a great ancestry behind it; we cannot avoid all memory of Shakespeare."<sup>9</sup> Woolf, we can see now, armed herself with the same sword as Meredith and his heroines. Their blows were aimed at patriarchal institutions, as much in the cause of freedom for artists as for women.

I often think how much Woolf's poet Carmichael in *To the Lighthouse* is Meredith. He is the only character who sees how much of Mrs Ramsay's earth-mother pose is humbug. How Virginia Woolf must have enjoyed Meredith's letters to his "stout Angel," her mother. Many of them were written during the composition of *Diana* and record his progress and his agonies. The name of Mrs Leslie Stephen was prominent on Mrs Humphrey Ward's anti-suffrage petition in *The Nineteenth Century*, which, like *The Athenaeum*, took a strong anti-feminist stand. Many prominent women, led by the well-known novelist Mary Ward, opposed giving political rights to women. Meredith's thrust (in comic fury) was this mocking

<sup>8</sup> E. M. Forster *Aspects of the Novel* (NY: Harcourt, Brace 1956) 90.

<sup>9</sup> *Second Common Reader* 212.

letter: "'Enough for me that my Leslie should vote, should think.' Beautiful posture of the Britannic wife! But the world is a moving one and will pass her by."<sup>10</sup> Meredith was clearly ambivalent about the Stephens. He admired Sir Leslie's manly virtue as a mountaineer and mental giant—Stephen was the model for Vernon Whitford in *The Egoist*—but when he died Meredith wrote to Leslie Stephen's daughters that his chief virtue had been that he was worthy of being the husband of Julia Stephen.

In August 1884 Meredith wrote wishing he could join the Stephens at St Ives to "observe Thoby's first recreancy! [Thoby was Virginia's brother]—before his father has taught him that he must act the superior, and you have schooled the little maids [Virginia and Vanessa] to accept the fact supposed:—for it is largely (I expect you to dissent) a matter of training. Courage is proper to women, if it is trained, as with the infant man.—My *Diana* still holds me; only by the last chapter; but the coupling of such a woman and her man is a delicate business. She has no puppet-pliance. The truth being, that she is a mother of Experience, and gives that dreadful baby suck to brains—I have therefore a feeble hold of her; none of the novelist's winding-up arts avail; it is she who leads me" (743).

Meredith enjoyed the role of feminist and teacher to many bright and beautiful women, both young and old, throughout his life. This is perhaps why Diana playing Egeria to a series of great men is so realistic and so highly charged with felt experience in the novel. He nagged away at "Mrs Leslie" to educate her daughters and, although she didn't, they educated themselves in a way in which he would have approved. He wrote to her (March 1884) as if her own experience of childbirth could rouse sympathy with his artist's pangs at the "delivery of the terrible woman afflicting me (a positive heroine with brains, with real blood, and demanding utterance of the former, tender directions of the latter) . . ." (732). In May 1884 he wrote that Diana "keeps me still on her sad last way to wedlock. I could have killed her merrily, with my compliments to the public; and that was my intention. But the marrying of her, sets me traversing feminine labyrinths, and you know the why of it never can be accounted for" (737). Meredith's writing as worried mother to worried mother makes one think of Mrs Ramsay in *To the Lighthouse* marrying everyone off. The metaphor which links artistic production with childbirth has been part of our culture since the Greeks, but few artists have been so openly sisterly about their "pregnancies" with actual women. As Meredith grew more aware of how his creative processes mimicked nature, his respect for women deepened. There is some measure of experience behind his portrait of Diana's "involuntary twitch" at the thought of motherhood, which concludes the novel on a realistic

note. The wedding bells of Diana's marriage to Redworth signal not a happy ending but the beginning of physical sexual life and the dangers of childbirth.

Meredith identified the middle class as the enemy of comedy and urged "cultivated women to recognize that the comic Muse is one of their best friends. They are blind to their interests in swelling the ranks of the sentimentalists. . . . they will see that, where they have no social freedom, comedy is absent; where they are household drudges, the form of comedy is primitive; where they are tolerably independent but uncultivated, exciting melodrama takes its place, and a sentimental version of them."<sup>11</sup> Caroline Norton's grandfather, Sheridan, had mocked the sentimental muse as well in the prologue to *The Rivals*, which gives some rather vivid examples of what happens when women are deprived of education. Meredith is thus firmly in the tradition of feminists, from Mary Wollstonecraft through Olive Schreiner and from Sylvia Pankhurst to Virginia Woolf, who have argued that women are often their own worst enemies and have raised their voices against middle-class mothers who refuse to educate their daughters and instead of freedom as a goal, provide the image of "angel in the house." In Schreiner's phrase these girls go from ignorance to "married prostitution." Later, the feminist movement under Emmeline Pankhurst made an explicit alliance between upper-class and working-class women. The enemy to whom "the cause" was to be brought was the middle class. Suffragette propaganda plays had stock characters, the brave and determined lady and her servant, who successfully win over the "nice" suburban couple. Meredith was in league with these feminists—all of them, by the way, leftists in politics—and even on his eightieth birthday championed women's intellectual powers and their "combative spirit."

As a publisher's reader Meredith was chiefly responsible for the publication of Olive Schreiner's remarkable feminist novel *Story of an African Farm*. Lyndall, like Diana, is proud and free. As a "new woman" she is unable to find a fit mate and dies after childbirth, having refused marriage to a man who asserted his superiority over her. She is nursed by Gregory Rose who dresses in women's clothing to be near her. Meredith must have recognized the novel's psychological depth, revealing a kind of bisexuality in all of the characters. Its biblical pastoral vision of the evolution of the new woman on the ancient African desert is akin to his own vision of Diana's mythological namesake haunting the woodland glades, more hunted than huntress.

Meredith himself was ambivalent about Diana. How "feminist" was her search for freedom? And women critics have felt ambivalent about her as well. The feminist novelist

<sup>11</sup> George Meredith *Essay on Comedy* ed Wylie Sypher (Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1956) 32.

Adeline Sergeant was critical of Meredith's apparent views for, she felt, "no amount of intellectual training will obliterate these distinctions of sex . . . we shall more closely follow nature's lead if we emphasize rather than seek to lessen the differences between men and women." She queried:

But what, on analysis, is this heroical feminine type? Its progenitor seems to hold the view that the natures of women have been differentiated from those of men simply through man's agency, by man's tyranny and oppression acting on woman's physical weakness; that woman's highest aim is to reinstate herself by his side, to become his equal—"the mate of man, and the mother of a nobler race"; and that she may some day attain to this proud position of likeness and equality, but only by man's aid and man's consent. If this be Meredith's theory, it seems to me to be founded on a wrong view of the physical nature, the mental weaknesses, and the moral capacities of both women and men.

But, she went on to say:

There is scarcely a woman in his books who is not, righteously and grandly, in revolt, at war with herself, or with society; at war with the ignorance, the cowardice, the want of candour, want of judgment, want of sense, which a bad education, rather than a bad disposition, has made characteristic of woman; at war with society for its narrowness, its harshness, its want of humour and tolerance, and its impenetrable stupidity. With these the best among us are constantly at war; and we owe thanks to George Meredith for his pictures of women nobly at odds with themselves and with the world.<sup>12</sup>

Harriet Preston felt that Meredith was simply a new kind of chivalrous crusader:

The emancipation which he invokes for the suffering fair is in no sense an intellectual one. It is anything and everything rather than an affair of sciences, languages, courses, and careers. And still less is it what is quaintly called by a certain class of agitators "economic." It is purely moral, and can be achieved only through the moral regeneration of woman's natural master. A champion of Woman's Rights—even with capitals—Mr. Meredith stands confessed; yet with the clearly defined proviso that a woman has no rights, under the present dispensation, save such as may accrue to her through the righteousness of man. No other author ever gauged so accurately all that a high-spirited woman feels, as none, surely, ever exposed so relentlessly the dastard quality that may shelter itself within the clanging armour of your imposing masculine bravo. Nevertheless Mr. Meredith takes his text quite frankly from "Paradise Lost," "He for God only, she for God in him."<sup>13</sup>

At the end of the novel Diana does fear some curb to her freedom, but not from Redworth. It is childbirth which frightens her. And although she does think of him as Apollo and the "captain of her ship," she makes sure her marriage ceremony is free of romantic and senti-

12. *Temple Bar* (June 1889).

13. *Hammerton* 237 (see fn. 1, above).

mental cant. She insists that there will be no kneeling, he to her or she to him. Her view of marriage and childbirth is that it is "sailing into the dark," though with Emma's love and Redworth's devotion at least she will not be alone. Hardly a chivalrous view—but it is one that declares the female's struggle for identity to be as painful as the male's. ("I have not studied women more closely than I have men, but with more affection, a deeper interest in their enfranchisement and development.") As Meredith saw it, one could create a very individual and rebellious heroine and still be on the side of progress, though history would frown on a Byronic or Shelleyan hero of the other sex and condemn the author as an enemy of the common man.

I think one can say with some certainty both that *Diana of the Crossways* is a feminist novel and that Meredith himself was a feminist. Diana's marriage and her fear of the danger of marriage are real to women who are afraid of loss of personal freedom as well as the physical and emotional terrors and responsibilities of bearing children. Meredith's experiences as artist and husband gave him a sympathetic awareness of woman's desire for power and identity in the world. His sense of social justice led him to attack those institutions which most militated against the freedom of the middle-class woman: the marriage and divorce laws, and bourgeois marriage itself.

### III THE NOVEL AND THE MYTH

Why did Meredith choose the mythological method, and why the myth of Diana? The myth presupposes a time in which women were physically and mentally brave and free; it gave weight to the argument of the nineteenth-century feminists that women were struggling to regain lost power. Meredith, because of his erratic education and his difficult childhood, did not share the educated Englishman's belief in the superiority of Greek culture. He was not a purist, and the ancient Near East and late Roman adaptations of myth were intriguing to him. His Diana is never associated with the moon and frigidity but rather with the later Hecate, the huntress but also the nurse, the watcher at deathbeds and childbirth. One might say that *Diana of the Crossways* was to nineteenth-century art what Frazer's *Golden Bough* was to anthropology. While Frazer concentrates on the rituals of Diana's priests at Nemi, their death and rebirth to celebrate the fertility of the Earth Mother, Meredith shows modern women restricted by patriarchal institutions, marriage, and the law. Emma is childless; Diana fears childbirth but in the end sacrifices her freedom for fertility.

Meredith dined with his friend Andrew Lang, the cultural anthropologist and collector of folk tales and myths, while writing *Diana*, and he ordered Lang's *Custom and Myth* and *Helen of Troy* from his bookseller. (Lang had also written a preface to Marian Roalfe Cox's

*Cinderella* in 1893, and *Cinderella* influenced *Diana* as well.<sup>14</sup>) The last chapter of *Custom and Myth* is on the early history of the family; Lang here enters the controversy, rife in the new science of anthropology, on the side of those who posited a matriarchal or matrilineal society preceding patriarchy (Morgan and Engels). The Germans were posing the same thesis, and Bebel used their arguments in *Woman under Socialism*<sup>15</sup> to prophesy a future in which women would be returned to their former power. The discovery of the many layers of cities under Troy spurred the imagination of many intellectuals. It became indeed Freud's constant metaphor for his own search for the unconscious and the human need to come to terms with the mother. Meredith's genius was at work in recognizing that the search for the mother was a necessity for females as well as males, and often a more difficult psychic journey. The process of discovering *Diana* is for the reader somewhat like the discovering of Troy. Under the layers of social criticism, the obvious dialectic between Dame Gossip and Dame Scandal, between art and politics, London and the country, Ireland and England, between money and social climbing and respectable poverty and deliberate self-declassing, we come at last to *Diana's* rebellion, her psychic death and rebirth in the discovery of her feminine self.

Her terrible pre-Oedipal struggle into female identity is dramatized deftly in Chapter 36, "Is Conclusive as to the Heartlessness of Women with Brains." Meredith had stopped the novel with Chapter 35 in its serial form in *The Fortnightly Review*. Yet he shows no signs of strain in the extraordinary scenes in which Emma feeds *Diana* from her own spoon, sleeps with her, and brings her back to life, although when he added this final chapter his wife was on her deathbed, willing her death.

The use of myth in Wagner's operas fascinated Meredith. While he was writing *Diana* his letters were full of allusions to them and he attended performances of *Lohengrin* and *The Flying Dutchman*. Hearing of Wagner's death, he wrote to Louisa Lawrence "he is gone and it grieves me," and urged her to see *Parsifal*. Lady Butcher (the Alice Brandreth of the *Letters*) recalled that Meredith had met Wagner at the Dannreuthers' and had admired the man as well as his work. He admired Cosima Wagner too, inevitably, as did his good friend Frederick Jameson, who translated *The Ring*. The man who wrote *Diana of the Crossways* manifestly admired both Brünnhilde and Isolde.

There is a critic for the *Times Literary Supplement* who persists in calling Brünnhilde a "female hero." Odd as the phrase is, and inappropriate for Brünnhilde, it seems to suit

<sup>14</sup> Published as no. 31 in the Folklore Society Series (London: D. Nutt 1893).

<sup>15</sup> Available in various English translations in the 1880s.

Diana. As a protagonist she is torn between art and politics the way many nineteenth-century heroes are. And neither concept of herself, as artist or as politician, has anything to do with her sexual identity as a female. The same critic complains that Brünnhilde has usurped the role of the hero in *The Ring*, that she completes the action that Siegfried "was meant" to do. Exactly. It is Brünnhilde's capacity for action, her intellect and her will, her strengths physical and spiritual, that define her as a great revolutionary heroine, a woman worthy of the title. She dies for love of Siegfried, as well as in the hope of a brave new world—whose birth she makes possible as an act simultaneously political and artistic. Some, like the afore-mentioned critic, find these qualities unfeminine, threatening. Brünnhilde seems a "man-eater." The implication is, I think, that she has eaten a piece of the hero's action—and that action is a male prerogative. A similar threat is represented in Diana's mystifying act of betrayal of a political secret, that her timid friend Dacier's party was planning to repeal the Corn Laws. In the first place, of course, Percy Dacier betrayed his party by telling its secret to a woman, and it was not just a casual telling. He sold his government for her caress; yet she—who ostensibly sells the secret out of hurt pride and for money—is the one punished. However, although Brünnhilde was very much in Meredith's mind as he wrote *Diana of the Crossways* (he describes Diana as a "splendid brune"), I think it is truer to define Diana as a "female hero"; she is not a heroine with Brünnhilde's self-knowledge and strength. Diana is as divided as "The Woman of Two Natures," her definition of herself as the author of *A Man of Two Minds*. The divisions are deeper than she knows, and Meredith's narrator only increases her distance from the reader with his several cloaks of Gossip, Scandal, Diaries, Myth, and History.

Opera and music were not the only sources of kinship with Meredith's search for an understanding of women through myth. Certainly painting in the last twenty years of the century, from the academic and salon painters to the decadents, abounds with figures of both historical and mythological women. Miss Lawrence, who shared with Meredith during this period both Germanophilia (as they called it) and a love of Wagner, sent him a copy of Alma-Tadema's painting "Lesbia Listening to Catullus." He had written in Chapter 23 of *The Egoist*:

Women have us back to the conditions of primitive man, or they shoot us higher than the topmost star. But it is as we please. Let them tell us what we are to them; for us, they are our back and front of life: the poet's Lesbia, the poet's Beatrice; ours is the choice. And were it proved that some of the bright things are in the pay of Darkness, with the stamp of his coin on their palms, and that some are the very angels we hear sung of, not the less might we say that they find us out, they have us by our leanings. They are to us what we hold of best or worst within.



Meredith, always deliberate, yokes Catullus and Petrarch, as representatives of poets and cultures who define women as devils or angels, never comrades or equals of men. But Emma Dunstane, "deeply a woman and dumbly a poet," regards Redworth as a fitting comrade for Diana. She describes her to him as "one of Shakespeare's women. . . . I dream of him seeing her with that eye of steady flame. The bravest and best of us *at bay in the world* [my italics] need an eye like his to read deep, and not be baffled by inconsistencies." *Diana* is both historical and mythological in that she exemplifies the deterioration of the Huntress into the hunted.

Sometimes Meredith abandons Clio and Calliope for the comic spirit; the wonderful scene describing the pig is a tribute to Diana, patroness of the slaughter of animals. When Lord Larrian gives Diana a guard dog, myth is again invoked for its humor and irony. Diana says later, "Our weakness is the swiftest dog to hunt us." (And when Yeats met Maud Gonne with her dog he felt she was consciously living the role of Meredith's Diana.) The traditional Diana of the crossroads has a triple face; not until the end of the novel does Diana recognize her third visage. She warns Dacier that her Christian name is Pagan and that she is also Hecate, full of magic and witchery and a bringer of death. In reality she has many faces and names: Diana Merion (Irish feminine Meredith?), fiery daughter of Celtic poets; Princess Egeria to great statesmen; "Antonia" (appropriately bisexual pseudonym for a lady novelist), gallant Tony to her Emmy; Mrs Warwick, wronged wife, then widow; finally she is Diana Redworth, Artemis to Redworth's Apollo.

"George Verimyth" (as a *Punch* burlesque called him) rather overdoes Redworth as Apollo. (One critic suggested that a Welsh pronunciation of "Meredith" would accent the "red.") Frazer said that Roman kings reddened their faces with vermilion, both to impersonate the sun god and to emphasize their descent from Diana's priests. Emma calls Redworth "Sol in his moral grandeur"; Diana compares him to Apollo and the sun: "He is Roman, Spartan, Imperial; English if you like—the pick of the land" (p 379). We always see the worthy red-man (noble savage) riding westward into the sunset, heroically and silently pursuing Diana's honor. Emma's vision of the marriage not only unites brother sun and sister moon but restates one of the novel's political themes; it stands for "Old Ireland transforming Old England."

The first myth which Meredith evokes in the novel proper is that of Cinderella. Diana, beautiful penniless orphan, is summoned to the ball by her fairy godmother. She ignores Prince Charming (Redworth) and attaches herself to the most powerful man present, Lord Larrian.<sup>16</sup> This is only the first of a series of attachments to great men, father figures, in

16 Another interesting tribute to Clio is in Virginia Woolf's novel *The Waves*, where Colonel Pargiter appears to be drawn directly from Lord Larrian, missing

fingers and all; there is a deathbed scene, but no Diana to see Mrs Pargiter safely into the other world



Corot's *Diana and Actaeon*—courtesy The Robert Lehman Collection, New York

which Diana plays Egeria—without the physical marriage which was Diana's nymph's role in the Roman legend. The ball ends in a great debacle over Diana's virtue (image of prospective priests fighting for the golden bough), to which Diana herself is oblivious. The glass slipper of the story is a series of nautical images which do not return until the end of the novel, where Redworth is described as rescuer and captain of the ship *Diana*. While Meredith mixes his myths as well as his metaphors, the Cinderella story is kept up through the novel as Emma plays godmother, protecting Diana from Dame Gossip and Dame Scandal, and finally presiding over her marriage to Prince Charming. But the Cinderella myth, besides being a story of the older woman who helps the younger through the perils of adolescence into womanhood, is a rags-to-riches story. And Meredith turns this story upside down. In the novel's critical scene, Diana rejects "The Crossways" and its aristocratic heritage, buys a cottage, and completely identifies herself by class with the cottagers. She names herself Mrs Warwick, widow, demystifying the ancient necessity of the virgin bride. She rejects her past by class and sex roles and is her own woman, free and independent, when she marries Redworth.

The comradely coolness with which they plight their troth is remarkable. In a glade reminiscent of Diana's sacred grove, she asks the name of a trailing vine and Redworth tells her it is clematis. "It drags in the dust when it has no firm arm to cling to," sermonizes Diana (p 406). A symbiotic union like that of the oak and the mistletoe is implied. It is a measure of Meredith's art that the reader is reminded of the earlier scene in the mountain meadow at Rovio where Diana in a self-assertive spirit sermonizes and botanizes at her two-minded but fancied hero, Dacier.

The Italian alpine scene, as rich and allusive, fluent and descriptive as the later scene is bare and subdued, chronicles an important moment in Diana's psychic development. We see the action from Dacier's confused and sleepless point of view. All night the bells have tolled Diana's name; he gazes at the campanile as a roysterer would at Aurora and climbs the Generoso "where the waters whispered of secrecy to satisfy Diana herself . . . they conjure classic visions of the pudency of the Goddess irate or unsighted. The semi-mythological state of mind, built of old images and favoring haunts, was known to Dacier" (p 151). Meredith, skilled dramatist, has led us to expect the unfolding of the myth of Diana and Actaeon. We expect him to surprise her in her bath and be punished, if not as a stag devoured by his own dogs, in some equally horrible way. But the author has tricked us. He switches myths in midstream. We are astonished not by a description of a naked Diana but by the materialisation of a clothed one.

The description is also retrospectively astonishing, as the only direct one of her outward

appearance in the whole novel (only diarists' descriptions having been quoted in the introductory essay). "She was dressed in some texture of the hue of lavender. A violet scarf loosely knotted over the bosom opened on her throat. The loop of her black hair curved under a hat of grey beaver. Memorably radiant was her face" (p 153). Meredith once wrote: "every man who is not a milliner in spirit" desires the end of the crinoline. "The introduction of the crinoline has been in its effects morally worse than a *coup d'état*. It has sacrificed more lives; it has utterly destroyed more tempers; it has put an immense division between the sexes. It has obscured us, smothered us, stabbed us."<sup>17</sup> Meredith, perhaps like the mythological painters, has here aroused his readers and then attempted to purify their minds. History and reality return; no nineteenth-century Englishwoman would have dared to strip and bathe in the mountain stream. We are moved to nostalgia for a lost innocence and a lost health.

Diana asserts that she has not heard the bell which so disturbed her companions. Dacier at once falls into the background, "as he did only with her, to perform accordant bass in their dialogue," and for the rest of the scene plays Echo to her Narcissus. They engage in a dialogue in which she praises her beloved Emma, and by implication herself, and he echoes her praise. When Dacier asks her for some of the "pale purple meadow-crocus," she lectures on the rarity of "colchicum" and describes the flowers as a sacrifice for the woman who is "the next heavenly thing to heaven," the "*cœur d'or* of our time." Dacier echoes these remarks by naming Emma "a bit of a bluestocking" and the friends "the Damon and Pythias of women." Diana treats Dacier as a fellow youth, hearing only his praises of her beloved. He is puzzled and annoyed when she twice declares her wish to be a man, for she is deep in her fantasy of herself as the gallant Tony paying court to the ideal woman, Emma. Dacier breaks the spell by comparing a half-wilted crocus to a ballerina. Diana grows confused, upset, angry. For in her narcissistic trance she has become Tony and the budding crocus is her own phallic image of herself. Dacier now becomes an enemy: she felt "wounded, adverse, armed. He seemed somehow to have dealt a mortal blow to the happy girl she had become again" (p 157). His news of Lord Dannisburgh's impending death reminds her of the role of princess Egeria which caused her social downfall and summons the desire to be Diana, nurse and healer. And Meredith ends the chapter by calling her "wife and no wife, a prisoner in liberty, a blooming woman imagining herself restored to transcendent maiden ecstasies—the highest youthful poetic" (p 160).

It is these "transcendent maiden ecstasies," their narcissism, desire to court and please the mother, to be son and lover to the mother, which Meredith has recorded so faithfully in

17 Hammerton 16.

his portrait of a female egoist. Diana's unconscious struggle through the stages of a prolonged adolescence is subtly and dramatically rendered, and Meredith is at his best in these two scenes.

The resourceful and complex use of myth in *Diana of the Crossways*, both conscious and seemingly unconscious on Meredith's part, reveals a "woman of two natures," as Diana recognizes herself to be. The outer struggle to be free from personal and legal assault, the arrows of scandal and gossip, from financial need, from social constraints on her artistic and political desires, is matched by a fiercer inner struggle to become a whole woman. Freud remarked that this unconscious struggle on the part of his patients who were independent women appeared to be far more difficult than it was for men. *Diana* is no case history, but a work of art. We know Diana by her actions, which neither she nor Meredith can explain in rational terms. The psychic reality of Meredith's portrait of the development of an independent woman is uncanny and magnificent, mystifying even its maker. He attempted to explain or condone her most controversial actions in economic terms—and their inadequacy forced him to relate that Diana, once created, sought her own truth and would not be held down.

Epic in size and structure, *Diana of the Crossways* is the living daughter of the nineteenth century. Efforts (like Jan B. Gordon's brilliant essay)<sup>18</sup> to explain the novel in purely structuralist terms must fail ultimately—because even if Meredith had been wholly committed to the building of the novel into a dialogue between "gossip" and "scandal," which he was not, his moral and social and psychological intentions were often far stronger than his sense of design. As an architect he was eclectic. But even if the novel cannot be forced to fit the modern desire for intellectual and formal perfection, with its values of neat equations with standard myths and a shaping symbolist imagination, *Diana* claims our attention on a deep psychological level.

#### IV WHY DID DIANA DO IT?

Diana's epic odyssey is the story of the prolonged and difficult adolescence of a freedom-loving girl voyaging to her final acceptance of the responsibilities of womanhood. Fraught with dangers both personal and social, the journey begins and ends with a trip across the Irish channel. The first crossing is stormy and troubled as the motherless child crosses the sea alone. In the second, Redworth is firmly in command of the ship named *Diana*. She has learned that his captaincy does not deprive her of her freedom but gives her a secure base for

<sup>18</sup> See note 1, above.

her independent pursuits—as well as the unmentioned but implied satisfaction of physical needs. The geography of the novel links the sea and the land, Ireland and England, the majesty of the Alps and the mystical peace of the Nile, the city of London and the South downs. The critical center, the eye of the storm, is always "The Crossways" itself, and Diana haunts its graveyard like her namesake's alter ego, Hecate. Her inner journey is marked by a pattern of alternating flight and rest, testing her powers and recouping her losses. "The Crossways" rouses her guilt, a sense of death and despair, and a need to meet the high standards of action and speech of her forefathers.

But Diana's actions have a universality which Freud noted. Why does Diana flee from Sir Lukin's advances into an unhappy marriage with the first man to present himself? While in actuality she has not seduced Lukin, she feels guilty because she has unconsciously wished to. She can never confess to Emma, her "mother," that she has desired Lukin, her "father." Why does she flee again when scandal and divorce link her name with Lord Dannisburgh? She is innocent but feels guilt and shame, because of her repressed desires. Meredith describes her confusion, her despair, and we are sympathetic. As Diana says, the artist in her relating language to life: "We women are the verbs passive of the alliance, we have to learn, and if we take to activity with the best intentions, we conjugate a frightful disturbance. We are to run on lines like the steam-trains, or we come to no station, dash to fragments."

Some critics have attributed these actions to Diana's highly emotional nature, but that is not her character at all. The most difficult problem in the novel for Meredith's contemporaries as well as for students today is Diana's impetuous rushing to the editor of *The Times* with Dacier's party's secret decision to repeal the Corn Laws. Meredith fails to convince us, either in the novel or in his letters, that Diana's real or fancied financial difficulties are such as to warrant her action. She does not herself understand why she acted or why she was blind to the consequences, but these frighten her into falling in love with "King Death" (as she tells Emma), into a desire for self-annihilation so strong that only her substitute mother's "magic" forgiveness can save her. Diana has spent months creating Percy Dacier as her male self. She has written his speeches, entertained his friends, passed on all the political knowledge she gained from his uncle and the other great men to whom she has played Egeria. The young Diana whom we first meet declaring her wish to be a soldier becomes a woman whose dearest wish to be a politician she has transferred to Dacier as her puppet. Her other wish, to be an artist, inadequately fulfilled in her writing of *romans à clef*, she has enfolded in Arthur Rhodes, whom she has created as a poet. What the episode reveals is her secret desire to wield the power of the editor.

The great newspaper editor, Tonans, combines the artist and the politician. His taunting

Diana with a lack of fresh news has touched a nerve, and she realizes as she is stricken with writer's block in the crucial scene between her hero and his mistress in *The Man of Two Minds* that her actual situation is that of a woman writing for a living, unsuccessfully. Tormented alike by having had to sell "The Crossways" and by Tonans' taunt, she is shaken by Dacier's use of his political news as a weapon of seduction and a means to demonstrate to her that he is a separate person and a man; in shame and heightened anxiety she goes "like a bullet" to Tonans. Meredith delves into her mind to show her working herself up to believe both that she has been sexually assaulted and that she has been acting like an adventuress and deserves his disrespect, then convincing herself that her financial plight is desperate. But her irrational need to rush off in the night to *The Times* springs from a deeper source than she can acknowledge. It is not that, as some critics have claimed to exonerate her, as a woman she does not understand the political import of the secret. She does. Politics has been her life's blood. It is not even that as a woman she has a weaker sense of justice, a less stringent conscience than a man. On the contrary. As an experienced woman of the world she could and did handle Dacier's advances with grace and firmness. Her shame sprang from the realization that she had used Percy as an extension of herself since she was forbidden by sex from acting in a male world. In a way he was her child and his love-making shocked her, broke a taboo of her own making. Released, she resolves for once to act like a man, and she does.

"The tremendous pressure upon our consciousness of the material cause, when we find ourselves cast among the breakers of moral difficulties and endeavour to elude that mud-visaged monster, chiefly by feigning unconsciousness, was an experience of Diana's, in the crisis to which she was wrought," writes Meredith calmly in the center of the most emotionally charged scene in the novel. Here Diana, having lost "The Crossways," is at the real crossroads of her psychic development, and the chapter is called "A Giddy Turn at the Spectral Crossways." The passage in which the "unmasked actress" imagines a fantasy of power after being numbed into a realization of her femaleness and her powerlessness is worth quoting in full, for in terms of feeling, it is the strongest in the novel:

The visionary figure of Mr. Tonans, petrified by the great news, drinking it, and confessing her ahead of him in the race for secrets, arose toweringly. She had not ever seen the Editor in his den at midnight. With the rumble of his machinery about him, and fresh matter arriving and flying into the printing-press, it must be like being in the very furnace-hissing of Events: an Olympian Council held in Vulcan's smithy. Consider the bringing to the Jove there news of such magnitude as to stupefy him! He, too, who had admonished her so sneeringly for staleness in her information—  
(p 310)

"Diana Victrix" as she arms herself for battle, already feels dread and guilt; the news is "throbbing like a heart plucked out of a breathing body" (p 310). Promethea will challenge the gods. This daughter dares a rebellious act of identification with and contempt for the father.

The scene throbs to a climax more intense than any love scene. "Diana Victrix" imagines a duel with Tonans, herself the winner; she shivers as her imagination turns the cab she drives in with Danvers into "a funeral convoy without followers." She says, "You are not an Editor of a paper, but you may boast that you have been near the nest of one" (p 315). Diana herself boasts to her companion, in exhilaration and relief, after she has told Percy's secret. She has entered the male world which has so long excluded her and "sprung a mine." Diana has signified both her desire to be a man and her contempt for all the values of the patriarchal world. No more vicarious political action behind the scenes: she walks boldly on stage and thumbs her nose at the audience. She has finally entered the male world and simultaneously violated it. She has conjured up a near rape scene by Percy and then countered with a similar act.

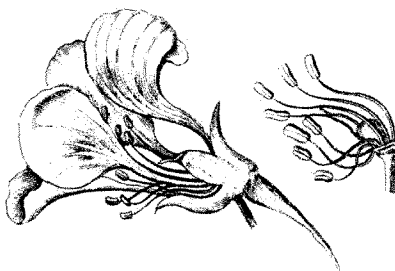
To Percy Diana claims temporary insanity, says her excuse is that Tonans "railed at me for being 'out of it,'" her inability to write, her lack of money (p 325). But Meredith reminds us that Tonans and his paper are Radical; we are aware that Diana had allied herself disastrously with a man and a party whose class interests she did not deeply share. We have some suspicion that in her psychological identity crisis her true radical instincts have also come out. Her later insistent self-definition as a cottager comes as no surprise. The internal radical challenge to authority is a revolutionary act in the outer world of politics as well.

The struggle to bring herself to birth as a new woman almost kills Diana. Meredith's respect and sympathy for a woman's struggle to gain identity are clearly stated in the novel. He takes seriously her conscious and unconscious desire for power and her guilt. Most significantly, he strikes bare a rock of psychic truth in Diana's relationship with Emma, that the strongest bond of the human condition is with the mother, so strong that young women as well as young men must work their way to psychic freedom by competing with the father for the mother's love. Every reader is aware that apart from the scene just described, the most deeply felt passages are in the scenes between Emma and Tony. The last lines of the novel reveal Meredith's awe of woman. The "involuntary little twitch of Tony's fingers" with which she greets Emma's last demand that Diana bear a child and make her a real godmother is as moving as it is realistic. Diana's "internal history" does meet Meredith's demands of the novel as "the brain stuff of fiction." He has created "an ideal of the heroic feminine type" (p 16, 17). But Meredith would be the first to agree that Diana's individual



three-selved identity is not enough. The leap from hunted to huntress is a baby step in the progress of humankind until the newly freed Dianas (as he says in *The Ballad of Fair Ladies in Revolt*) "Be tamed to say not 'I,' but 'we.'"

*University of Illinois at Chicago Circle*



ROBERTA WADDELL

## George Washington: His Life and Times

### A Selection from a Prints Division Exhibition

BY 1775 when Washington had dedicated himself to public life, there was a popular market for his image in paintings and prints. A visitor to the United States in the early nineteenth century reported:

It is noteworthy that every American considers it his sacred duty to have a likeness of Washington in his home, just as we have images of God's saints. He would fain keep before his eyes the simulacrum of the man to whom he owes his independence, happiness and wealth! Washington's portrait is the finest and sometimes the sole decoration of the American home.<sup>1</sup>

Washington learned to accept requests for sittings as part of his duty to posterity:

I am so hackneyed to the touches of the Painter's pencil, that I am altogether at their beck, and sit like Patience on a monument, whilst they are delineating the lines of my face. It is proof of what habit and custom can effect. At first I was impatient at the request and as restive under the operation as a colt is of the saddle. The next time I submitted very reluctantly but with less flouncing. Now no dray moves more readily to the Thrill, than I do to the Painter's chair.<sup>2</sup>

Four of the Library's portraits of Washington hang in the Exhibition Room (318): a full-length portrait (ca. 1800) by Gilbert Stuart, with one of the rare signatures; a unique half-length Gilbert Stuart portrait (1797) which once belonged to Alexander Hamilton; a portrait by James Peale, Sr, a contemporaneous copy after Charles Willson Peale's 1787 (Continental Congress) portrait; and a portrait (possibly 1859) by Rembrandt Peale, a copy after Gilbert Stuart's 1795 "Vaughan" portrait. The Library's collections are a major repository

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Mantle Fielding "Edward Savage's Portraits of Washington" *Pennsylvania Magazine* 48 (1924) 193-94.

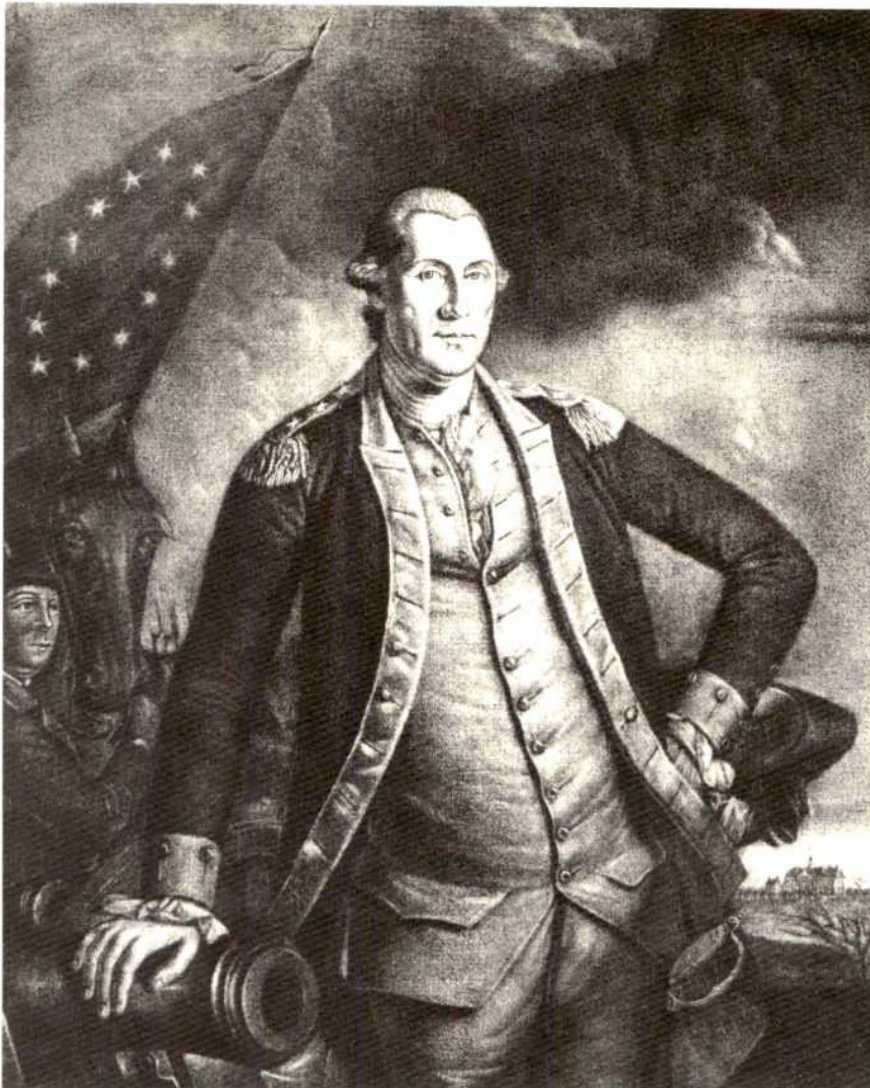
<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Avrahm Yarmolinsky *Picturesque*

*United States of America 1811, 1812, 1813 Being a Memoir on Paul Svinin* (NY: W. E. Rudge 1930) 34 ("dray . . . to the Thrill," i.e., "draft horse . . . to the shafts").

of materials relating to the first president, including the manuscript of his Farewell Address (a reprint of the 1935 facsimile edition is still available)—a selection will be shown in a Main Lobby Washington exhibition this fall.

The nine works reproduced here from the Prints Division's 1975 exhibition "George Washington: His Life and Times" give just a taste of the Division's strong holdings relating to George Washington and his period. Two collections are particularly notable: the Charles W. McAlpin Collection and the I. N. Phelps Stokes Collection. Many of the portraits of Washington are drawn from the McAlpin Collection, the range of which spans realistic (or sentimentalized) portraits of Washington and his family; allegorical portraits, such as one presenting Washington in Roman dress and wearing a laurel wreath on his head; and even printed textiles. Often rare, these works from the McAlpin Collection come from France and Germany, as well as England and the United States, and suggest the great number of Washington portraits that were published here and abroad. From the Stokes Collection several eighteenth-century maps, including an engraving published in 1783 by Sayer & Bennett of the second earliest known map of the United States, Revolutionary battle scenes, and views of Mount Vernon and other places associated with Washington help us to reconstruct, visually, the country as Washington himself knew it. A number of cartoons, humorous and serious, illustrate contemporary opinions, on both sides of the Atlantic, of Washington, George III, American and English politics and policies. In these and other prints and drawings, most of which date from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the artists depict events which shaped the course of Washington's life—the Revolutionary War, the Constitutional Convention, his years as president, and his rare moments as a private citizen. The adulation bestowed on him, apparent in prints published during his lifetime, is even more obvious in those published after his death, for he was quickly elevated from an honored soldier and national leader to a beloved and revered legend. An anonymous silk embroidery from the McAlpin Collection, probably made in 1800, represents America lamenting her loss at the tomb of Washington, with the standard ingredients used in this popular subject for amateur compositions: the mourning female figure, intertwined weeping willows, and funerary monument dedicated to Washington appear with minor variations in countless other watercolors and embroideries. A somewhat more unusual mourning portrait is reproduced in the selection below.

*Prints Division*



CHARLES WILLSON PEALE

American, 1741–1827

*His Excellency George Washington*

1780. Mezzotint, 13 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 9 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>"

McALPIN COLLECTION

Charles Willson Peale, in this the first signed and dated engraving of George Washington, drew upon his own painting of 1779. The view of Princeton University's Nassau Hall in the background refers to the American victory at the Battle of Princeton in 1777.

HIS EXCELLENCY  
GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq;  
Commander in Chief of the Armies of the  
United States of America.



An EXTRACT from MURRAY's celebrated History of the present War.---He relates General Washington's triumphal entrance into Boston, after he had obliged the British to quit that Place, as follows :

"UPON March 17th, 1776, as the rear of the British embarked, General Washington marched into the town of Boston with drums beating, colours flying, and in all the triumph of victory. And indeed it was a compleat victory for the present, seeing he had made troops that were reckoned invincible, abandon a town which they had fortified as well as they could, with all the precipitation that usually happens in signal defeats. The evacuation of Boston, which in the file of the day was called only a change of position, was certainly a flight under as great apprehensions of fear and destruction as ever."

PAUL REVERE, II (?)  
American, 1735-1818

*George Washington*

Engraving,  $3 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ "

McALPIN COLLECTION

In 1781 Paul Revere sent to a relative "a small engraving of him [Washington], it is said to be a good likeness and it is my engraving." The Revere print has been identified tentatively as this rare Washington portrait, copied from an almanac illustration by John Norman and engraved on type metal.





JOSEPH WRIGHT  
American, 1756–1793

*G. Washington*

1790. Drypoint,  $2\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{15}{16}$ " (oval)

McALPIN COLLECTION

A popular story reported that Joseph Wright, when refused a sitting with Washington, sketched this profile from a neighboring pew in St Paul's Church, New York. Washington appreciated Wright's talent, and wrote that he was "a gentleman . . . who is thought . . . to have taken a better likeness of me than any other painter has done."



CHARLES BALTHAZAR JULIEN  
FEVRET DE SAINT MEMIN

French-American, 1770–1852

*George Washington*

Mezzotint,  $11\frac{1}{16} \times 9\frac{9}{16}$ "

McALPIN COLLECTION

Fevret de Saint Mémin sketched a profile portrait, the last made of Washington from life, between November and December 1798, when Washington was in Philadelphia to take charge of the American army. This engraving, made from that crayon drawing shortly after Washington's death, was intended for a mourning ring where it would have been set under glass and held in place by a black enamel band.



ANONYMOUS AMERICAN  
19th century

*Washington Crossing the Delaware*

ca. 1830. Colored etching, 11 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 9 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>"

McALPIN COLLECTION

After the loss of Fort Washington and Fort Lee, Washington needed a victory to keep the American cause alive. On Christmas evening 1776, he crossed the Delaware with his troops and surprised the German soldiers at Trenton. Washington wrote to Congress, "the difficulty of passing the river in a very severe night, and their march thro' a violent storm and hail, did not the least abate their ardour." The success at Trenton was followed by an American victory at the Battle of Princeton.





ANONYMOUS BRITISH  
18th century

*Mrs. General Washington Bestowing  
thirteen Stripes on Britannia*

1783. Etching,  $5\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ "

MCALPIN COLLECTION

In this cartoon America, represented by "Mrs. General Washington," is giving Britannia thirteen lashes on her back, urged on by figures representing France and Spain.





ANONYMOUS AMERICAN  
19th century (?)

*After a medal, commemorating the signing of a  
peace treaty in 1792*

Etching,  $7\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ "

McALPIN COLLECTION

During Washington's years as president he made a concerted effort to pacify hostile Indian tribes, and invited representatives of the Six Nations to come to Philadelphia and discuss their grievances. Washington believed that the Indians should turn to farming, and had considered giving the Iroquois an annual stipend to purchase clothing, domestic animals, and farming tools. This print, based on a medal given to a Shawnee chief, depicts oxen and a plow to encourage agriculture.

## THE DEATH of GENERAL WASHINGTON

This most illustrious and much lamented Personage died on the 15<sup>th</sup> of Dec<sup>r</sup> 1799, in the 68<sup>th</sup> year of his Age, after a short illness of 30 hours in the full Possession of all his Fame, like a Christian and an Hero, calm and collected, without a groan and without a sigh.

He united and adorned many excellent Characters, at once the Patriot and Politician, the Soldier & the Citizen; the Husbandman and the Hero, the Favourite of the Genius of Liberty, the Father of AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, the Promoter of her extensive and BROTHERLY UNION, the Pillar of her CONSTITUTION, the PRESIDENT of her SENATE, and the GENERALISSIMO of her ARMIES.



He possessed and displayed extraordinary abilities, exalted VIRTUES, and unexampled Self command and Self denial, moderate in Prosperity, undaunted amid Danger, unbroken by adversity, firm and unmoved amid the violence or reproach of Faction, unperverted by great and general applause.

He Was  
GREAT  
in the COUNCIL  
and  
in the FIELD.

He Was  
GREAT  
in ARTS  
and  
in ARMS

First in War, first in Peace, first in the hearts of AMERICANS, first in the Eyes of the World, he was unrivalled as a Statesman, as a Soldier, as a Senator, and he is embalmed by the tears of AMERICA, entombed in the hearts of his Countrymen, admired by the enlightened of all Lands, immortalized by his own great actions and the regrets of Mankind.

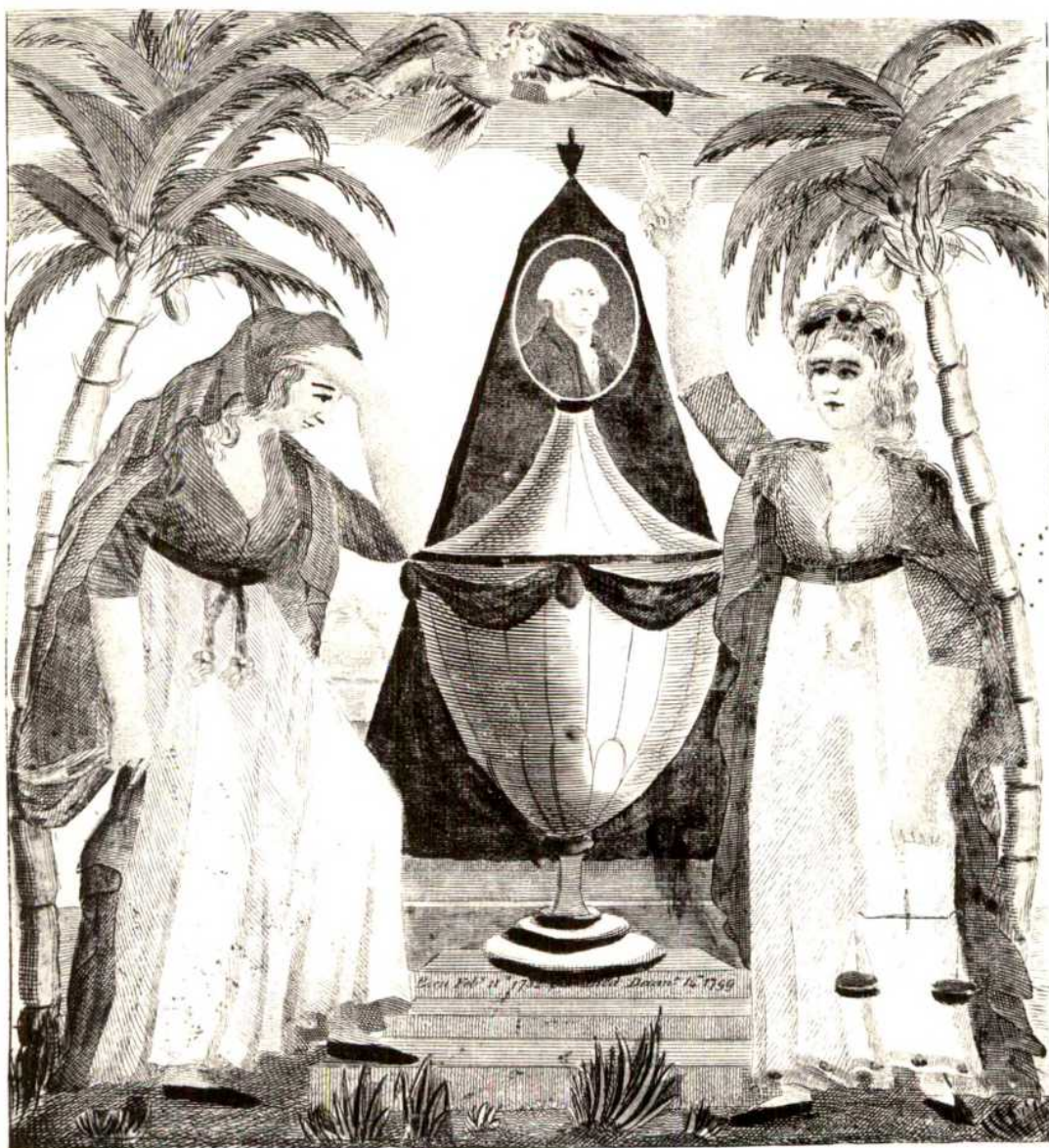
ANONYMOUS SCOTTISH (GLASGOW)  
19th century

### *The Death of General Washington*

1800. Printed cotton, 19<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 20<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub>"  
McALPIN COLLECTION

On December 12 1799, Washington became chilled while inspecting his land during a winter storm. Within two days he could scarcely breathe or speak. Several doctors were summoned, but could do little to ease his condition. On the evening of December 14, attended by his secretary Tobias Lear, Martha Washington, and his life-long friend Dr Craik, he quietly died. This textile, probably based on the print by Pember and Luzarder, captures the drama of the final moments.





ANONYMOUS AMERICAN  
19th century

*Lived respected and Fear'd—Died  
Lamented and rever'd*

1800. Colored etching and stipple, 16 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 13"

McALPIN COLLECTION

The public clamor for a likeness of Washington after his death in 1799 had to be met quickly. Art was often sacrificed for sentimentality. This print, published in Philadelphia in 1800, is typical of many efforts. It also provided the model for a cotton kerchief.

SAMUEL L. MACEY

## “Bounce to Fop”: Alexander Pope and Henry Carey

THE CASE FOR attributing the poem “Bounce, and Fopp, An Epistle from a Dog at Twickenham to a Dog at Court” to Alexander Pope was first made by Norman Ault.<sup>1</sup> Re-examination of the transcripts of the poem has brought up readings which suggest, instead, that the poem in its final form shows the hand of Pope, but that it is not likely that Pope wrote the poem himself.

The final lines as they appear in the Longleat, Stowe, and Welbeck transcripts make it very unlikely that Pope had originally written this about himself:

Yet Master P—— Whom Witt and Sence  
Have made Tremendous as a Prince,  
Tho’ now of Mighty Peers He Sings,  
And now a word or two of Kings  
Has Sworn by Stix (The Poet’s Oath,  
The dread of Dogs & Poets both)  
His Lords and Ladyes He’le renounce  
To Sing Fidelity, and Bounce (lines 77–84).

This is the Pope of whom Dr Johnson said: “Next to the pleasure of contemplating his possessions seems to be that of enumerating the men of high rank with whom he was acquainted.” It is hardly what Pope would have said about himself. Indeed in the folio edition of 1736 “Witt” becomes “Truth”; the second line is changed to, “Shall call their Friend some Ages hence”; the third and fourth become, “Tho’ now on loftier Themes he sings / Than to bestow a Word on *Kings*”; while the final couplet reads, “Man and his Works he’ll soon renounce, / And roar in Numbers worthy *Bounce*.”

<sup>1</sup> See “Pope and His Dogs” in *New Light on Pope* (London: Methuen 1949; NY: Archon 1967) 337–50. Ault makes the case against attribution to John Gay, a light contender, as well as Jonathan Swift, whose name

appears on the London folio edition printed by Thomas Cooper (1736) and whose publisher, Faulkner, brought out the Dublin edition of the same year; see p 342, 345–46.

Even so, the direct reference to Pope could hardly have suited the man who had now become the "author" of the poem, and the last twelve lines of "Bounce to Fop" are omitted completely in the *Miscellanies* of 1736 and 1742. In fact, an obvious pun on Pope's name was clearly altered in the first version of the transcripts:

That Sturdy Beggars, Rogues in Raggs,  
That pope at Me, can make no braggs,  
And that to towze Such things as flutter  
To Honest Bounce is Bread and Butter  
While You & every Courtly Fop . . . (21-25).

The verb "pope" has been altered to "poke" by the hand that made the other emendations in the Longleat version. A collation of the Longleat, Stowe, and Welbeck transcripts makes it abundantly clear that, though they are by the same hand, the Longleat version was written first. It has been corrected in no less than seven places by a different hand, and in all of these the Stowe and Welbeck transcripts follow the corrected Longleat copy.

If it is unlikely that Pope wrote the original "Bounce to Fop," then who did? I have no definitive answer, but I should like to make a case for Henry Carey, author of "Namby Pamby," "Sally in Our Alley," and *Chrononhotonthologos*. First and most impressive is the fact that Carey published the successful theatrical satire *Chrononhotonthologos* under the pseudonym of Benjamin Bounce in 1734 (though there is some evidence that he may have written it four or five years earlier). Seventeen editions of the work are listed in the British Museum catalogue, but it does not appear to have been printed under Carey's name before his *Dramatic Works* (1743). Secondly Carey had been denied "the liberty of the scenes" by Colley Cibber because he had "with others made merry with Cibber in a song on his being appointed poet laureat."<sup>2</sup> Cibber's association with court circles in general and Hervey in particular is well known; also, he had played many roles as a fop, from Sir Fopling Flutter onwards. A poem addressed from "Honest Bounce" to "Courtly Fop" in the period leading up to 1736 would certainly run the risk of being read on one level as an epistle from Carey to Cibber. This is by no means to deny the references to Pope's dog Bounce and the dog Fop belonging to the Countess of Suffolk (formerly Mrs Howard), which Norman Ault has very properly suggested. Carey was proud of his abilities as an allegorist<sup>3</sup> and there is no reason that both the human and the canine allusions should not have existed from the beginning.

2 Colley Cibber *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber* ed Robert W. Lowe (London: J. C. Nimmo 1889) II 226n

3 Anon *A Learned Dissertation on Dumpling* (1726)

together with *Pudding and Dumpling Burnt to Pot* (1727) ed Samuel L. Macey (Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Society 1970) II 18, 24, and 29. Hereafter cited as *Dumpling* and *Key* respectively.

Norman Ault points out that the essential additions between the transcripts and the printed versions of the poem are a couplet on "Lord Fanny," and the increase from two to five in the aristocratic recipients of Bounce's offspring. With the name "Lord Fanny" and with the three new recipients—Cobham, Bathurst, and Oxford—Pope is clearly related, and Carey is not related at all. But with respect to the original two recipients—Strafford and Burlington—we find that The Right Honourable the Countess of Strafford is a subscriber to Carey's *Dramatick Works* (1743), while his *Poems on Several Occasions* (1729), is dedicated to the Countess of Burlington.

One of the most interesting differences between the transcripts and the printed versions appears to have been overlooked completely.<sup>4</sup> This seems to involve an attack on the family of the Duke of Argyll (from the Isle of Islay or Ilay),<sup>5</sup> and may provide the missing link in F. W. Bateson's otherwise persuasive hypothesis relating the Duke to Pope's Timon.<sup>6</sup> There appears to be no reason why Carey should attack Argyll's family, but "J——n's hungry breed," as "Ilay's hungry breed" becomes in the *Miscellanies*, is another matter. (This may

4 Where "Ilay's" was inserted, a space has been left by the writer of the Longleat transcript, and the word has been clearly written in. The copyist has written "Ilay's" in the Stowe transcript but "Ilays" in the Welbeck transcript, and in the Twickenham Edition this is taken to read "I lays" (Alexander Pope *Minor Poems* Twickenham Edition, eds Norman Ault and John Butt [London: Methuen; New Haven: Yale Univ Press 1964] vi 368).

5 The relevant stanza is the following:

Before my Puppies Set your beef  
Not one True Bounce will be a Thief  
Nor one without permission feed  
(Though come of Ilay's hungry Breed)  
But what Soe're the Fathers Race,  
From me They Suck a little Grace,  
While your Fine Whelps learn All to Steal  
Bred up by hand, and chuck and veal (37-44)

The attack on Ilay in this stanza is clear enough. Bounce's puppies will not be thieves despite the fact that they come of "Ilay's hungry Breed."

The attack could be on Archibald "Jacky" Campbell, earl of Islay. But the name had come to be associated with the Campbells in general, since they captured the Isle of Islay from the Macdonalds ca. 1616; the Duke of Argyll, as the head of this Scottish family, could hardly avoid seeing the attack as a strong personal insult. The

use of the form Ilay for Islay was common. Sir Ilay Campbell (b. 1734) was christened with this name, and it was in fact considered interchangeable with the more regular form in the earl's own title. *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1744 has "Islay 13" in the "Index of Names to Vol. xiv," and "Yali" as the anagram for this name (p 13). But where the anagrams are explained (p 175) under "Y" is the entry "Yali, Ilay," and under "A" the entry "Agryl, Argyl or Ilay."

6 After making a strong case for relating John Campbell, 2nd duke of Argyll (1678-1743) to the Timon in lines 85-88 of "Epistle to Burlington" in particular, Bateson asks the question: "Warton's anecdote seems to imply that Pope had been satirizing Argyll, but not by name. But where? No allusion has hitherto been detected" (Alexander Pope *Epistles to Several Persons* ed F. W. Bateson, 2nd ed [London: Methuen; New Haven: Yale Univ Press 1964] 170-74). It would not seem at all unlikely that the attack on the family of Ilay came to Argyll's attention either directly from the transcripts or inferred from them in the London folio's (1736) reading of "I——s" (the *Miscellanies* of 1736 and 1742 have "J——n's"). In "Pope and Argyle" in *New Light on Pope* (p 172-85), Norman Ault attempts to underline their friendship; yet there is little hard evidence of such a friendship before Argyll began to oppose the Whig Ministry in 1737.

be a reversion to the lost "original"; the copyist of the transcripts makes no distinction between "I" and "J.") In *Dumpling* (p 17) and its *Key* (p 26), C[harles] J[ohnso]n, the playwright, is attacked as a lover of "Dumpling" (i.e., a venal person); Carey speaks ironically of the "All-Invigorating Pen of the Well-Fed, Well-Read, Well-Pay'd C—— J—— Esq." Pope also attacked Johnson on more than one occasion.

Beyond the question of human relationships is the question of satiric method, and in this respect we have another example of Carey empathising as a dog. In *Poems* (1729) Carey published "The Grumbletonians: or, The Dogs without-Doors; a Fable." This deals with "A Wealthy Farmer in the West [Twickenham?]. . . Two Mastiff Dogs he kept, to guard / His House, his Poultry, and his Yard. . . / But in the House they durst not enter, / My Dame her Crock'ry would not venture." Yet when the dogs are eventually allowed in they behave themselves remarkably well, and the moral is: "Let 'em but have a finger in the Pye, / They change their Tone, and give themselves the Lye."<sup>7</sup>

But what of the relationship between Pope and Carey? F. T. Wood, in his introduction to Carey's *Poems* (1930) says in respect of Pope and *Namby Pamby*: "Incidentally it would be interesting to know more of Pope's relations with Carey and his chivalrous behaviour on this occasion, for his name is not usually associated with actions of so disinterested a character."<sup>8</sup> Wood took his speculations no further, but there are strong indications that a relationship of some sort did exist. Insofar as "Namby Pamby" is concerned, Pope uses the name in his *Dunciad* from 1729, and Harold Williams refers to the tradition that this is the poem alluded to in Swift's letter to Pope of November 26 1725.<sup>9</sup>

There is also the question of the "Gulliver" poems. Norman Ault deals with these in a special sub-chapter in *New Light on Pope* (p 231-42) where they are claimed for Pope at the expense of Swift. He points out that these poems were almost certainly sent by Pope to Swift (p 232). But sending poems does not make a man their author, and Pope was far from implying authorship. In respect of the attribution to Henry Carey in the catalogue of the British Museum, the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, and elsewhere, Norman Ault says: "This mistake was possibly the result of a confusion between the first and most famous poem of the set, the Lilliputian Ode *To Quinbus Flestrin*, and still another imitation of it which was actually written, signed, and published by Carey himself, under the title, *A Lilliputian Ode on their Majesties' Accession*" (p 241). Some of the factors not taken into account by this view are reflected in George Sherburn's scepticism.<sup>10</sup> The main point is that

7 Henry Carey *Poems on Several Occasions* (London: E. Say 1729) 38-43. 1930) 38.

8 *Poems* ed Frederick T. Wood (London: Partridge

9 Jonathan Swift *Correspondence* ed Harold Williams (Oxford: Clarendon 1963) III 292n.

Carey's "Ode" had earlier appeared with a suitable preamble and a difference of only two Lilliputian couplets. It is printed in Swift's name under the imprint of Swift's own printer: "Little George Faulkner in Christ-Church-Yard, 1727." The poem is to be found in a bound collection at the Huntington Library which was originally listed by Sotheby's as follows:

35 Swift A UNIQUE COLLECTION CONSISTING OF 16 SATIRICAL PIECES IN MS. SAID TO BE IN SWIFT'S AUTOGRAPH, and 62 Broad-sides by Swift and others printed at Dublin, many bearing dates, WITH MS. NOTES, giving Authorship, Names, Places and other particulars, APPARENTLY IN SWIFT'S HAND; also two folio lists of contents (*one damaged*); *morocco extra, g. t. by Rivière*-

This collection is divided into two equal parts. The first item in the second part is none other than *Namby Pamby*, followed immediately thereafter by the Lilliputian poem on the accession of George II.

Not only did Pope use the term "Namby Pamby" for Ambrose Philips, but he is openly thanked for defending Carey's claim to this poem in *Of Stage Tyrants* (1735) dedicated to the Earl of Chesterfield. (Like the Countess of Burlington, Chesterfield was a relative of Carey's putative father George Savile, marquis of Halifax with whose name of Savile Carey christened three of his sons.) In the same poem, Carey credits Addison with defending his right to "Sally in Our Alley," just as he had done in the *Poems* of 1729 (p. 128). Even if one were to accept James M. Osborn's denial that Carey ever was a member of Addison's "little Senate,"<sup>11</sup> the letter from Swift to Pope of April 20 1731 might well refer to Carey: "our friend Addison had a Young fellow (now a figure in your Court) whom he made to dangle after him, to go where, and to do whatever he was bid" (*Correspondence* III 458n.) Harold Williams passes on the suggestion that this might be Tickell or Carey, but Tickell from 1724 until his death in 1740 was secretary to the lord justices of Ireland.

What does seem highly probable is that a relationship of some sort existed between Carey and Pope from the second half of the 1720s. Certainly there were several possible channels for an introduction. The most obvious would be through the Countess of Burlington or Chesterfield, to whom reference has already been made. In addition Kitty Clive, Carey's most famous student, was a neighbour of Pope at Twickenham.<sup>12</sup> Of James Worsdale, a drinking companion of Carey, Maynard Mack quotes the story that he painted five or six copies of a Kneller for Pope, while Dr Johnson reports Worsdale's claim that "he was the messenger who carried by Pope's direction the books [Pope's letters] to Curll."<sup>13</sup> It was in

10 Alexander Pope *Correspondence* ed George Sherburn (Oxford: Clarendon 1956) II 411n.

11 "Addison's Tavern Companion and Pope's 'Umbra'" *Philological Quarterly* 42 (Apr 1963) 217-25

12 After Carey's suicide in 1743, she gave a benefit performance for his wife and children (*Poems* ed Wood, p. 20)

13 See "The Author's Quietus Address'd to his dear



1729 that both "Namby Pamby" and "The Lilliputian Ode" first appeared under Carey's own name in his *Poems on Several Occasions*, together with "Calliope to her Sky-Lark: Inscib'd to Alexander Pope Esq." We know that Pope purchased a copy of the book, for it is the only work of Carey's in which he appears on the list of subscribers.<sup>14</sup>

In this much enlarged version of the 1713 and 1720 editions of the *Poems*, dedicated to Dorothy, countess of Burlington, there are ninety-one pieces. Nevertheless, the poems involved with Pope, Swift, and *Dumpling* form a very tight little group that can be shown to be related to each other, and are found only three poems after "The Grumbletonians." This may well indicate their association in the poet's mind. Poems 9-14 are as follows:

9. *Namby Pamby*
10. *A sorrowful Lamentation for the loss of a Man and no Man*
11. *Verses for the Use of the Bellman of Fullham*
12. *A Lilliputian Ode on their Majesties' Accession*
13. *The Parish-Clerks Address; On the Same Subject*
14. *Calliope to her Sky-Lark: Inscib'd to Alexander Pope, Esq.*

Any student of Carey's work must be struck by the deference paid to Pope after the publication of the satire "Namby Pamby." Pope for his part never attacked Carey during a period in which more than one of his associates have their place in *The Dunciad*.

To sum up, the names "Bounce" and "Fop" refer to two celebrities on the London scene, well known by these names at least in the crucial period between 1734 and 1736. It is therefore highly likely that a poem by that name refers to the people concerned, just as much as it does to the dogs of Pope and the Countess of Suffolk, formerly Mrs Howard. The "transcript" version of the poem deals with people with whom Carey was involved, is written in his style of allegorical satire, made its first appearance through channels strikingly similar to those by which two of Carey's best-known poems had earlier appeared, and purports to be written by "Bounce." There would certainly seem to be a case for suggesting that Carey was the author of the first version of "Bounce to Fop." All of this is of course reinforced by the strong circumstantial evidence of a relationship between Carey and Pope.

### *University of Victoria*

Friend Jemmy Worsdale" at the end of Carey's *Poems* (1729). Worsdale subscribed for twelve copies of this edition. Mack *The Garden and the City* (Toronto: Univ of Toronto Press 1969) 248. Johnson "Pope" in *Lives of the English Poets* ed George Birkbeck Hill (Oxford: Clarendon 1905) III 158.

<sup>14</sup> It is beyond the scope of this paper to indicate the numerous parallels outside "Bounce to Fop" between

the works of Pope and Carey (whose life spans ran almost exactly parallel). One fruitful area, however, lies between the central metaphor of Carey's *Dumpling* (his "Dumpleid," 1726) and chapter 15 of Pope's *Peri Bathous* (1727). There are also several parallels between the attack on poor taste central to *Peri Bathous* and to Carey's *Chrononhotonthologos*.

TED-LARRY PEBWORTH

## An Annotated Bibliography of Owen Felltham

ALTHOUGH A MINOR POET of some real distinction and the author of the lively pamphlet *A Brief Character of the Low-Countries Under the States*, Owen Felltham (or Feltham) today is remembered principally as the author of *Resolves: Divine, Morall, Politicall*, a collection of prose pieces originally published in 1623 and extensively enlarged and revised during the following thirty-eight years. Relatively little is known of his life. Probably born in 1604 at Mutford, Suffolk, he was the son of Thomas Felltham, a well-to-do member of the gentry. He was later to have a poem included in *Parnassus Biceps*, a collection of verse by alumni of Oxford and Cambridge, although no record exists of his having attended either university.

In the 1630s Felltham became steward to Barnabas O'Brien, later the 6th earl of Thomond, and lived most of the rest of his life at the O'Brien manor at Great Billing, a village near Northampton. It was probably shortly after his appointment as the O'Brien steward that Felltham married Mary Clopton of Kentwell Hall, Melford, Suffolk, of whom nothing further is known. Whether or not this marriage had issue is also unknown. When Barnabas O'Brien died, in 1657, Felltham continued as steward under his son Henry, 7th earl of Thomond, and the Dowager Countess Mary, serving them until his own death, which occurred in 1668 in the countess's townhouse in the Strand.

Felltham first came upon the literary scene with the 1623 publication of *Resolves* (no. 9, below). Between that time and 1628, he travelled to the Low Countries, collecting his impressions in a witty character which circulated in manuscript and in pirated editions until 1652, when the printer of *Resolves*, Henry Seile, issued a correct though anonymous edition (no. 18). *Low-Countries* continued to be published in both pirated and authorized versions in English and Dutch until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Also between the years 1623 and 1628, Felltham wrote one hundred prose "excogitations," appending them to the second edition of *Resolves* as a "second century" (no. 10). With essentially no revision in the text, but with a reversal of the order of the "centuries," *Resolves* was issued five more times within the next two decades.

Between 1625 and 1661, Felltham wrote over forty poems, publishing some of these in poetical miscellanies and allowing several to circulate in manuscript. With the approach of what the seventeenth century considered to be old age, Felltham began to think in terms of collecting his works, both prose and poetry, into a single volume. Dissatisfied with the youthful resolves of 1623, he revised them thoroughly. He joined these revisions with the excogitations of 1628 and supplemented them with his character of the Low Countries, his letters, two discourses on Biblical passages, and forty-two poems, issuing the whole as the eighth "impression" of *Resolves* in 1661 (no. 21). In this form, Felltham's works were re-issued four more times by 1709.

The eighteenth century virtually ignored Felltham. There was a revival of interest in *Resolves* during the first half of the nineteenth century; this was, in turn, followed by many decades of almost total neglect. But, as the entries in sections I and IV of this bibliography indicate, there has been in the last thirty-five years another revival of interest in the work of this tolerant and witty essayist and poet.

The only previous attempt at a full bibliography of Felltham is a dissertation by Max Donald Cornu (University of Washington, 1928) [no. 4], a work still valuable for its detailed descriptions of early editions of *Resolves*. But much work has been done on Felltham since 1928, and there are many editions of the Low-Countries character that were not listed there. The present bibliography lists all separately issued editions of Felltham's works (including several which escaped the notice of Wing) as well as scholarly and critical works of any length or substance. It corrects errors in some Wing listings and identifies ghost editions found both in Pollard and Redgrave and in Wing. It does not list the first publications of individual poems (those are treated in detail in no. 46), nor does it consider manuscripts. No holographs of Felltham's literary works are known to exist. Truncated seventeenth-century manuscript versions of *Low-Countries* are cited and described in no. 70; contemporaneous manuscript copies of the poems are discussed in no. 46, as are the musical settings for several of the lyrics. This bibliography also does not list anthologized pieces, nor does it include the numerous brief (and often erroneous) notices of Felltham to be found in literary histories and encyclopedias. Also omitted are brief comments on Felltham to be found in discussions of seventeenth-century prose styles.

The items in this bibliography fall into four groups. Section I contains biographical and bibliographical studies, arranged alphabetically. In sections II and III are chronological listings of the separately issued works of Felltham, and then of the ghosts, unverified editions, and doubtful attributions. In section IV follow entries for scholarship and criticism, arranged alphabetically. Because of the confusion in many prior lists of early editions of Felltham's

work, I have designated in the annotations in section II the locations of the actual copies that I have personally examined; such notations in no way constitute a census of copies. Copies in the collections of The New York Public Library are indicated by an asterisk (\*) preceding the entry number. *National Union Catalogue* symbols are used for other American libraries, "BM" for the British Museum (including the Thomason collection), "Ams" for the University Library, Amsterdam, and the initials "T-LP" for my personal copies. All previously cited editions of which I was unable to locate a copy are listed separately as unverified in section III. I would greatly appreciate any information concerning these.<sup>1</sup>

The first time that a title is entered in section II it is given in full. The only omissions are epigrams appearing on the title page and the shop-sign and street designations of book-sellers (the positions of which are indicated by ellipses). Second and successive entries of the same title are given in shortened form, reproducing only those portions of the title which differ from that of the previous entry; ellipses indicate the omission of repeated words and phrases.

## I BIOGRAPHICAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES

- 1 Anon "Owen Felltham and His 'Resolves'" *Meliora* 4 (1862) 89-103  
Primarily biographical, though incomplete and occasionally erroneous; a rather detailed listing of Felltham's works; some critical discussion, generally favorable.
- 2 B[ayne], R[onald] "Owen Feltham" *Dictionary of National Biography* VI (1888) 1167-69  
Still a valuable account, though needing correction and supplementation; notes MS genealogies of the Felltham family; has a brief, somewhat erroneous, bibliography; includes a few critical remarks.
- 3 [Brydges, Sir Samuel] "Owen Feltham" *Censura Literaria* (London: Longman 1805) 124-26 (2nd ed 1815) VI 235-38  
Ostensibly a belated notice of no. 10 or 11, but primarily biographical; quotes at length from the MS notes on Felltham's life and works made sometime after 1734 by the antiquarian William Oldys in his copy of Langbaine's *English Dramatic Poets*.
- 4 Cornu, Max D[onald] "A Biography and Bibliography of Owen Felltham" Dissertation, University of Washington 1928; see *University of Washington Digest of Theses* 1 1931  
Fullest biography to 1928; quotes in full Felltham's last will and testament; describes in detail the early editions of *Resolves*, but does not notice variant states; fails to list many editions of *Low-Countries*; attributes no. 50 to Felltham without question; provides some notes to Felltham's poems and letters.

<sup>1</sup> I wish to record here my gratitude to the late Professor Donald Cornu for his encouragement and generosity. My thanks also go to the directors and librarians of the institutions surveyed. I especially wish to

acknowledge the assistance of Mrs Shirley Smith, Reference Librarian at the University of Michigan, Dearborn, and the aid of Professors Elton D. Higgs and Claude J. Summers.



Engraved allegorical title page of *Resolves*, design A, anonymously executed, and used only for the first edition (no. 9)—courtesy The Huntington Library, San Marino, California



The engraved allegorical title page of *Resolves*, design B, used for the second through the twelfth editions (see footnote 2 to no. 10, footnote 3 to no. 11, and no. 21)

—Duyckinck Collection, General Research and Humanities Division

- 5 Goodwin, Gordon "Owen Felltham" *Notes & Queries* 8th ser. 10 (1896) 213  
Supposedly proves discord between Felltham and his wife, but confuses Felltham with his nephew and namesake.
- 6 Greenough, Chester Noyes *A Bibliography of the Theophrastan Character in English with Several Portrait Characters* [prepared for the press by J. Milton French] (Cambridge: Harvard Univ Press 1947)  
Lists 12 editions of *Low-Countries*, some of them unverified by either Greenough or French; assigns no. 50 to Felltham.
- 7 Robertson, Jean "Owen Felltham of Great Billing" *Notes & Queries* o.s. 173 (1937) 381-84  
Concerns primarily the litigation between Felltham's heirs and the Dowager Countess of Thomond; illuminates Felltham's role as steward to the earls of Thomond.
- 8 Tupper, Fred S. "New Facts Regarding Owen Feltham" *Modern Language Notes* 54 (1939) 199-201  
Illuminates further Felltham's services to the earls of Thomond; discovers the date and circumstances of his death and burial.

See also the biographical accounts in entries 38, 40, 41, 42, 45, 67, and 79.

## II SEPARATELY ISSUED WORKS

- 9 [Engraved allegorical title page, design A (see illustration)] *Resolues Diuine, Morall, Politicall by Owyn Felltham* . . . (London: Printed for Henry Seile [1623]) [No printed title page]  
Entered Stationers' Register May 26 1623. Small 12mo: A-O<sup>12</sup>, P<sup>6</sup>. STC no. 10755. BM, CSMH, IU.  
Epistle dedicatory to Lady Dorothy Crane; a note "To The Peruser"; text of 100 brief resolves without individual titles.
- 10 [Engraved allegorical title page, design B]<sup>2</sup> *Resolves A Duple Century, one new an other of a second Edition by Ow: Felltham* . . . (London: Imprinted for Henry Seile . . . 1628) [No printed title page]  
Entered Stationers' Register Mar 18 1627/8. Small 4to: A<sup>4</sup>, B-G<sup>8</sup>, \*<sup>4</sup>, H-Bb<sup>8</sup>, Cc<sup>4</sup>. STC nos. 10756-57. CSMH, ICU, IU. The second edition of the original 100 resolves of no. 9, designated "The First Century"; 100 new pieces, longer than the original resolves and each bearing a title, designated "Resolves or, Excogitations. A Second Centurie" on the half-title and paged separately; an epistle dedicating the second century to Thomas Lord Coventry; and a comment on the second century entitled "To the Readers."
- 11 [Engraved allegorical title page, design B] *Resolves A duple Century y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> Edition By Owen Felltham: w<sup>th</sup> a large Alphabetical Table thereunto* . . . (London: Imprinted for Henry Seile . . . 1628) [No printed title page]

<sup>2</sup> The allegorical title page of *Resolves*, Design B, was used for the second through the twelfth editions (nos. 10-33 passim). Anonymously executed in nos. 10-13 (the latter three being partial recuts of the plate used in no. 10); nos. 23, 26, and 29 (the latter two partial recuts of the plate used in no. 23); and no. 33.

Engraved by William Marshall for nos. 14 and 15 (the latter a partial recut of the plate used in no. 14) and Robert Vaughan for no. 21. No. 21, reproduced herein, is from the Library's copy of the eighth edition of *Resolves*.



- Small 4to: A<sup>4</sup>, B-F<sup>8</sup>, Gg-Hh<sup>4</sup>, I<sup>2</sup>. STC no. 10758. CSMH (2), IU, T-LP. Reverses the order and designation of the centuries; adds a poem explaining the allegory of the engraved title page;<sup>3</sup> adds titles to the individual pieces of 1623 (no. 9); adds a subject index; same text and prefatory materials as no. 10.
- 12 [Engraved allegorical title page, design B] *Resolves . . . y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> Edition . . .* (London: Imprinted for Henry Seile . . . 1631) [No printed title page]  
Small 4to: A<sup>4</sup>, B-F<sup>8</sup>, Gg-Ii<sup>4</sup>. STC no. 10759. BM, CSMH, IU (2), T-LP. A reprint of no. 11.
- 13 [Engraved allegorical title page, design B] *Resolves . . . y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> Edition . . .* (London: Imprinted for Henry Seile . . . 1634) [No printed title page]  
Small 4to: A<sup>4</sup>, B-F<sup>8</sup>, Gg-Ii<sup>4</sup>. STC no. 10760. CSMH, IU, L. A poorly executed reprint of no. 12.
- 14 [Engraved allegorical title page, design B] *Resolves . . . the VI Edition . . .* (London: Printed for Henry Seile . . . 1636) [No printed title page]  
Small 4to: A<sup>4</sup>, B-F<sup>8</sup>, Gg-Ii<sup>4</sup>. STC no. 10761. CSMH, IU (2). A reprint of no. 11.
- 15 [Engraved allegorical title page, design B] *Resolves . . . the VII Edition . . .* (London: Printed for Henry Seile . . . 1647) [No printed title page]  
Small 4to: A<sup>4</sup>, B-F<sup>8</sup>, Gg-Ii<sup>4</sup>. Wing no. F654. ViU, IU. A reprint of no. 13.
- 16 *Three Moneths Observations of the Low-Countries, Especially Holland. Containing A brief Description of the Country, Customes, Religions, Manners, and Dispositions of the People.* ([London?]: Printed [for William Ley?] Anno 1648)  
Not entered in the Stationers' Register. 12mo: [A<sup>2</sup>, B<sup>3</sup>, C<sup>4</sup>, D<sup>2</sup>, E<sup>3</sup>. Not in Wing. BM. Anonymous, pirated edition of no. 18; prints approximately half of Felltham's text; brief preface by the printer(?) commending the work as "deserving the Press," but lamenting its size as "too little." The BM copy (shelf-mark 1055.2.44) may be unique.
- 17a *Three Moneths Observations of the Low-Countries . . .* (London: Printed for William Ley . . . 1652)  
12mo: A-C<sup>4</sup>. Wing no. T1105 (erroneously designated as 16mo). BM. A reprint of no. 16. The BM copy (shelf-mark C.55.2.14) may be unique.
- b *A true and exact Character of the Low-Countreyes; Especially Holland. Or, The Dutchman anatomized, and truly dissected. Being the Series of three Moneths Observations of the Country, Customes, Religions, Manners, and Dispositions of the People . . .* (London: Printed for William Ley . . . 1652)  
Wing no. T2430 (erroneously designated as 4to). BM. The sheets of no. 17a bound up with a new title page. The BM copy (shelf-mark E.1372[3]) may be unique.

3 The poem reads:

*The Face of the Book, Unmasked*

Here, th'*Universe* in Natures Frame,  
Sustain'd by *Truth*, and *Wisdomes* hand,  
Does, by *Opinions* empty Name,  
And *Ignorance*, distracted stand:  
Who with strong *Cords* of vanity, conspire,  
Tangling the *Total*, with abstruse Desire.

But then the *Noble Heart* mfr'd,  
With *Razes*, divinely from above,  
Mounts (though with wings moist and bemur'd)  
The great *Gods glorious Light* to prove,  
Slighting the *World*: yet selfrenouncing, tries,  
That where *God* draws not, there she sinks, and dies.

- 18 *A Brief Character of the Low-Countries under the States. Being three weeks observation of the Vices and Vertues of the Inhabitants* . . . (London: Printed for Henry Seile 1652)  
Not entered in the Stationers' Register. 12mo: A-D<sup>12</sup>, E<sup>6</sup>. Wing no. F648. BM. Issued as an anonymous work; clearly an authorized edition despite Seile's claim, in "To the Reader," that he is issuing this "perfect Copy" without its author's "warrant," arguing that the "minc'd-meat" text of the two pirated printings (nos. 16 and 17) justify his publication of a correct text
- 19 *A Brief Character of the Low-Countries* . . . (London: Printed for H[enry] S[eile] and are to be sold by Rich[ard] Lowndes . . . 1659)  
12mo: A-D<sup>12</sup>, E<sup>6</sup>. Wing no. F649. CSMH. An exact reprint of no. 18, still preserving Felltham's anonymity.
- 20 *A Brief Character of the Low-Countries* . . . (London: Printed for H[enry] S[eile] and are to be sold by Rich[ard] Lowndes . . . 1660)  
12mo: A-D<sup>12</sup>, E<sup>6</sup>. Wing no. F650. BM. An exact reprint of no. 18, again with no indication of authorship.
- \*21A [Engraved allegorical title page, design B] *Resolves The eight [sic] Impressiō, With New, & Seuerall other Additions both in Prose, and Verse* . . . (London: Printed for A[nne] Seile . . . 1661) [No printed title page]  
Entered Stationers' Register June 25 1661. Small folio: A-Bbb<sup>4</sup>, unsigned<sup>2</sup>, (bbb)<sup>1</sup>, Ccc-Ddd<sup>4</sup>, Eee<sup>3</sup>, a-n<sup>4</sup>, o<sup>3</sup>. Wing no. F655A. CSMH, IU, T-LP. Epistle dedicatory of the whole volume to the Lady Mary, Dowager Countess of Thomond; "To the Reader" explaining the revisions and additions made; the 1628 excogitations (see no. 10) retained intact as the first century; the 1623 resolves (see no. 9) replaced by 85 essays (some revisions of earlier resolves, some entirely new) designated the second century; paged consecutively with the two centuries, two discourses or sermons, "Something Upon Eccles. 2.11" and "St. Luke 14.20"; bound up in the volume, but paged separately and bearing its own title page: *Lusoria: Or Occasional Pieces. With a Taste of Some Letters* (London: Printed for Anne Seile . . . 1661) containing 41 numbered poems; *Low-Countries* (bearing a separate title page, but paged into *Lusoria*); 18 numbered letters by Felltham and one addressed to him; Felltham's Latin epitaph for himself, "Quod in Sepulchrum volui"; and a table of contents to the whole volume. The most commonly found state of this edition.
- b [A second, printed title page in addition to the engraved one of no. 21A] *Resolves: Divine, Moral, Political. The Eighth Impression* . . . (London: Printed by E. Cotes for A. Seile MDCLXI)  
Not listed in Wing. BM. Aside from the added title page, exactly the same as no. 21A. The rarest state of this edition.
- c [A second, printed title page in addition to the engraved one of no. 21A] *Resolves: Divine, Moral, Political. The Eighth Impression* . . . (London: Printed for Peter Dring . . . MDCLXI)  
Wing no. F655. BM, ICU. Aside from the added title page, exactly the same as no. 21A. A belated, anonymous review article in *Retrospective Review* 10 (1824) 343-55 discusses briefly the resolve genre; praises Felltham's poetic use of metaphor in prose and his common sense, knowledge of mankind, and tolerance; recommends *Resolves* for the purity of its religious and moral principles; comments briefly on *Low-Countries* and the poetry.
- 22 *A brief character of the Low-Countries. . . . By Owen Feltham, Esq. . . .* (London: Printed for R. Lowndes . . . 1662)  
12mo: A-D<sup>12</sup>, E<sup>6</sup>. Wing no. F651. BM. Fourth printing, as a separate publication, of no. 18 (see no. 21), and the first separate issue of the work to bear Felltham's name.
- \*23 [Engraved allegorical title page, design B] *Resolves The ninth Impressiō. . . .* (London:

Printed for A[nne] Seile . . . 1670) [Also a printed title page adding: "and are to be sold by Allen Bancks and Charles Harper. . . ."]

Small fol: unsigned<sup>2</sup>, A<sup>4</sup>, unsigned<sup>2</sup>, B–Zz<sup>4</sup>, unsigned<sup>2</sup>, a–m<sup>4</sup>, n<sup>2</sup>. Wing no. F656. ICU, T–LP. Table of contents moved to a position preceding the first century, otherwise a faithful reprint of no. 21. Two belated review articles: J. H. M. *Censura Literaria* vii (London: Longman 1808) 379–82, 2nd ed (1815) vi 238–42 (primarily on the poetry; brief introduction, table of contents of the poems in *Lusoria*, text of three love lyrics); Anon *The London Christian Instructor; or, Congregational Magazine* 6 (1823) 375–79 (praises Felltham's imagination and the richness of the language of *Resolves*; complains of the frequency of antithesis and Felltham's fondness for neologisms).

- 24 *Batavia: Or The Hollander displayed: In Brief Characters & Observations of the People & Country, The Government of Their State & Private Families, Their Virtues and Vices. Also, A Perfect Description of the People & Country of Scotland* (London: Printed for G. Wid-  
dowes . . . 1672)

12mo: A–D<sup>12</sup>. Wing no. F647. MH. Except for the title, an accurate, though possibly unauthorized, reprint of no. 18, including Seile's prefatory note; no attribution of authorship; bound and paged with *A Perfect Description of the People and Countrey of Scotland* (London: Printed for Rich[ard] Lownds 1670), also presented without attribution (see no. 50).

- 25 *Batavia. . . . Scotland* (Amsterdam: Printed by Steven Swart . . . 1675)

12mo: A–C<sup>12</sup>. Wing no. F647A. CSMH. A reprint of no. 24, presented without attributions.

- 26a [Engraved allegorical title page, design B] *Resolves: Divine, Moral, Political. The Tenth Impression* . . . (London: Printed for Andrew Clark and Charles Harper . . . MDCLXXVII) [also a printed title page with the same wording]

Right of publication transferred to Clark and Harper by Anne Seile on Jan 28 1674/5 and entered Stationers' Register Apr 14 1675. Small fol: unsigned<sup>2</sup>, A<sup>4</sup>, unsigned<sup>2</sup>, B–Yy<sup>4</sup>, Zz<sup>4</sup>, Aaa–Zzz<sup>4</sup>. Wing no. F657. CSMH, IU. A reprint of no. 23.

- b [A variant printed title page adding: "and are to be sold by Benjamin Billingsley and Samuel Crouch. . . ."]

Not listed in Wing. IU. Exactly the same as no. 26a.

- 27 *Batavia. . . . Scotland* (Amsterdam: Printed by Steven Swart . . . 1680)

12mo: A–C<sup>12</sup>. Wing F647B. BM. A reprint of no. 25, again presented without attributions.

- 28 *Batavia, Of Den Ontploeyden Hollander: Beschouwt in een Speel-Reysie van Drie Weeken na Neederland Besonderlyk; na Holland. Met korte Afbeeldsels van het Volk, Land, Costuy-men, Deugt en Ondeugden. Waar by gevoegt word een korte Beschryvinge van't Volck en't Land van Schotland. Uyt het Engels overgeset.* (n.p.: no printer or bookseller 1684)

12mo: [viii] + 108 p. AMS. An anonymous Dutch translation of no. 24, 25, or 27; contains two prefaces: "Bescheydene Lezer" and "Aeen den Leeser."

- 29 [Engraved allegorical title page, design B] *Resolves. . . . The Eleventh Edition, w<sup>th</sup> References made to the Poetical Citations heretofore m<sup>ch</sup> wanted* . . . (London: Printed for C[harles] Harper . . . 1696) [Also a printed title page adding "M. Clark" as printer]

Small fol: unsigned<sup>2</sup>, A–Tt<sup>4</sup>, Aaa–Kkk<sup>4</sup>, Lll<sup>2</sup>. Wing no. F658. ICU. A reprint of no. 26, with most of the quoted passages from classical poetry identified by an anonymous annotator.

- 30 *A Trip to Holland, Being a Description of the Country, People and Manners: As also some Select Observations on Amsterdam* (n.p.: no printer or bookseller 1699); rpt in reduced facsimile with a bibliographical note by Howard William Troyer in *Five Travel Scripts Commonly Attributed to Edward Ward* (NY: Columbia Univ Press for The Facsimile Text Society 1933)  
Folio: [iv] + 12 p. Wing no. F659. Ams. This title, without a designation of size, is listed in *The Term Catalogues* (III 98); Wing assumes that this is the printing referred to (see also no. 31) and speculates the place of publication to be London. An anonymous hodgepodge of *Low-Countries*, much abbreviated, to which is joined the description of Scotland (see no. 50), abbreviated and reworded in order to make it apply to Holland; a witty and bawdy "Preface to the Reader." While not recognizing the plagiarism from Felltham, Troyer notes that the pamphlet, though usually attributed to Ward (as in the *DNB*), was "probably not written by him."
- 31 *A Trip to Holland . . .* (n.p.: no printer or bookseller 1699)  
4to. 16 p. Not listed in Wing. Ams. An abbreviated version of no. 30.
- 32 *Batavia Of den Openhartigen Hollander . . .* (Amsterdam: By Wybrant Alexanders . . . 1708)  
12mo: [iv] + 108 + [4] + 58 + [6] + 103 p. Ams. A reprint of no. 28; also included, each with separate pagination, anonymous characters of Italy and Spain.
- \*33 [Engraved allegorical title page, design B] *Resolves. . . In this Twelfth Edition . . . the Language refin'd . . .* (London: Printed . . . for Cha[rles] Harper MDCCIX) [Also a printed title page adding these booksellers: "R. Bonwick, W. Freeman, Tim. Goodwin, J. Walthoe, M. Wotton, S. Manship, J. Nicholson, R. Parker, Benj. Tooke, and R. Smith"]  
8vo: A-Uu\*. CSmH. Text following no. 29 with some slight changes in the language and a modernization of some spelling; prints for the first time "A Form of Prayer Compos'd for the Family of the Right Honorable the Countess of Thomond" (written after 1660).
- 34 *A Brief Character of the Low Countries Under the States. . . .* (London: no printer or book-seller [1770?])  
12mo: [?] + 23 p. BM (second half of the work only, shelf-mark 1078.i.29.[3].) Perhaps the 1770 edition of *Low-Countries* listed in no. 6, there with a note that neither Greenough nor French had seen a copy; "Part the First" missing; "Part the Second" a faithful reprint, with spelling modernized, of the latter part of no. 18; the BM catalogue entry speculates the publisher may be William Dacey or William and Chur Dacey.
- 35 *The Beauties of Owen Felltham Selected from his Resolves, Published in the year 1661* ed J. Vine [pseud] (London: T. Heptinstall 1800)  
16mo: iv + 89 p. BM, CSmH. A preface defending the abridgement of the passages selected; the text consisting of parts of 25 resolves from both centuries of no. 21.
- 36 *The Beauties of Owen Felltham . . .* (NY: Burton and Darling 1803)  
Small 12mo: 159 p. MH, CSmH. An American reprint of no. 35 with some resolve titles altered.
- 37 "A Brief Character of the Low Countries Under the States; Being three weeks' observations of the virtues and vices of the inhabitants" *Literary Miscellany* (Cambridge, Mass.) 1 (1805) 374-80; 2 (1806) 27-31, 127-35  
American Periodical Series Film (University Microfilms), ser. 2, roll 24, no. 387. The only periodical serialization of *Low-Countries*; prefaced by an unsigned appreciative critical note on both the character and *Resolves* (1: 374-75); text modernized but faithful to the authorized printings, except that certain "rude jokes" are "suppressed."

- 38 *Resolves, Divine, Moral, and Political, of Owen Felltham. A New Edition, Revised and Amended. With a Short Account of The Author and His Writings* ed James Cumming, Esq., F. S. A. (London: Printed for J. Hatchard 1806)  
Small 8vo: xlv + 404 p. ICU. Epistle dedicatory to the Duke of Gloucester; an "Advertisement" in which Cumming explains his interest in Felltham; a biographical account relying heavily on Oldys (see no. 3), but adding some valuable materials that Cumming himself found; the text, based on no. 33, consisting of 146 resolves, all much abbreviated, with sentence structure altered and "more correct translations" of Latin verse substituted for some of Felltham's. This edition criticized by Bayne (no. 2) as "unjustifiably garbled." Review *The Monthly Review* n.s. 52 (1807) 330-31: praises the morality and piety of *Resolves*, as well as its religious and political orthodoxy; notices the aptness of Felltham's illustrations, quotations, and allusions; commends Cumming for the "improvements" he made in the text.
- 39 *The Beauties of Owen Felltham* . . . ed J. A. 2nd [British] ed (London: H. Hodson 1818)  
12mo: 93 p. BM. A reprint of no. 35 with a few minor textual changes. Review *Gentleman's Magazine* 88 (1818) 346-47: praises the work as having "an eminent tendency to advance the interests of sound Religion and Morality" in a "pleasing" though sometimes quaint and obsolete language.
- \*40 *Resolves* . . . ed James Cumming 2nd ed, rev (London: Printed for John Hatchard and Son 1820)  
Large 8vo: lxxx + 454 p. ICU, CSMH. A 2nd edition of no. 38; same epistle dedicatory; the "Advertisement" slightly expanded; the biographical account lengthened by the inclusion of numerous quotations from Felltham's prose and poetry, but with no new biographical information; contents enlarged to include 169 resolves and 8 poems from *Lusoria*. Review *Gentleman's Magazine* 91 n.s. 14 (1821) 55-56: discusses *Resolves* as a work of casuistry; has appreciative comments on Felltham's style. S. Austin Allibone identifies the reviewer as Archdeacon Wrangham (*Dictionary of Authors*, s. v. "Felltham").
- \*41 *Resolves, Divine, Moral, Political* [ed Alexander Young] (Cambridge, Mass.: Hillard and Brown 1832) Library of the Old English Prose Writers IV  
Small 12mo: xx + 316 p. CrY. An "Editor's Preface" defending the principle of selection; a "Short Account of the Author" taken, without credit, almost verbatim from no. 40; a text, based on no. 26, consisting of parts of 55 resolves arranged according to subject matter; an abridged text of *Low-Countries* with the "free" paragraphs excised; some annotation of quotations and allusions. Review article *American Monthly Review* (Boston) 1 (1832) 451-59: discusses the point of view of *Resolves*; praises the aptness of metaphor and illustration and the warmth, charm, and good sense of the book; damns the Senecan style and the neologisms; praises the wit and humor of *Low-Countries*.
- \*42 *Resolves Divine Moral and Political* (London: Pickering 1840)  
Small 12mo: xxiv + 327 p. DLC. Anonymously edited; best text of *Resolves* issued in the nineteenth century; dedication to the Rev Philip Bliss, an admirer of Felltham; an "Advertisement" containing a brief, but authoritative life and some penetrating critical comments on *Resolves*; a modernized, but full transcription of Felltham's will; the text, a very faithful transcription of no. 12 with spelling modernized. A brief review *Gentleman's Magazine* n.s. 13 (1840) 402: calls *Resolves* "a well-known and ingenious work which has been praised as much as it deserves"; cites nos. 3 and 60; alleges that Pope knew and used *Resolves*.
- 43 *Resolves, Divine, Moral, Political* (London: Whittaker, and Houlston and Stoneman; Oxford: J. H. Parker; Leicester: J. G. and T. C. Brown 1840)  
Square 4to: iv + 385 + x p. ICU, CSMH, T-LP. The most beautifully printed and bound nineteenth-century edition of the work; anonymously edited; an "Advertisement" explaining the editorial policy; an uninformative "Short Account of Owen Felltham"; the text, a faithful transcription of no. 11 with spelling modernized.

- 44 *Resolves: Divine, Morall and Politicall* [ed Oliphant Smeaton] (London: Dent 1904) Temple Classics  
Small 16mo: 416 p. Frontispiece, an unauthenticated portrait of Felltham, the origin and present whereabouts of which are not recorded by the publisher; the text, reputedly a reprint of no. 10, but actually a modernized transcription of no. 11, omitting the prefatory matter to the excogitations; the annotation superficial, inadequate, and often misleading.
- 45 "A Critical Variorum Edition of Owen Felltham's *Resolves*" ed Ted-Larry Pebworth. Dissertation, Louisiana State Univ 1966; DA 27 (Mar 1967) 3059-A  
Lengthy introduction including a life (which attributes no. 50 to Felltham), a comprehensive survey of criticism, and critical comments; text of the original resolves from no. 9, the excogitations from no. 10, and the revised essays from no. 21; textual and explanatory notes, a lengthy bibliography.
- 46 *The Poems of Owen Felltham* ed Ted-Larry Pebworth and Claude J. Summers (University Park: Seventeenth-Century News 1973) Seventeenth-Century Editions and Studies no. 1  
Critical and textual introductions; the text of 48 poems with textual and explanatory notes; appendices of corollary materials; an index to titles and first lines
- 47 *Resolves* ed Richard F. Kennedy. In preparation

### III GHOSTS, UNVERIFIED EDITIONS, AND DOUBTFUL ATTRIBUTIONS

- 48 *Resolves* . . . (London: Printed . . . for Henry Seale 1635)  
Listed in STC (no. 10760a) as 4to, with a unique copy in the Harmsworth Library. Undoubtedly the second century of no. 14 bound separately (see p 41 of no. 4).
- 49 *Resolves* (1642)  
Listed by Wing (no. F653) as 8vo, with a unique copy in the Norwich Public Library. In a letter to me dated Apr 26 1967, Philip Hepworth, City Librarian at Norwich, writes "Wing undoubtedly took his information from *Catalogus librorum in Bibliotheca Norwicensi* (1883), without seeing the book, which is clearly dated 1636 (STC 10761). Unfortunately there were several errors in the 1883 catalogue."
- 50 *A Perfect Description of the People & Country of Scotland*  
Paged and bound into nos. 24, 25, 27, 28, and 32; reworded and conflated with *Low-Countries* in nos. 30 and 31. Not entered in the Stationers' Register. First published, without attribution, as *Terrible Neves from Scotland* . . . (London: Printed for T. W. 1647); reissued as *A Perfect Description* . . . and attributed to James Howell (London: Printed for J. S. 1649); reissued again under that title, but without attribution (London: Printed for J. S. 1659). It is not now considered to be Howell's (see William Harvey Vann *Notes on the Writings of James Howell* [Waco: Baylor Univ Press 1924] 66-67). Both Sir Walter Scott, in *Secret History of the Court of James the First* (London: Longman 1811) II 73, and John Nichols, in *The Progresses . . . of King James the First* (London: J. B. Nichols 1828; rpt NY: Burt Franklin 1964) III 338, attribute the work to Sir Anthony Weldon, who was dismissed from court by James I during the 1617 progress to Scotland for writing a scurrilous work on that country. Wing accepts Weldon's authorship and lists two separate printings of *A Perfect Description* . . . as no. W1277 and W1277A, although he lists *Terrible Neves* . . . as no. T771, not realizing that it is the same work.
- 51 *A Brief Character of the Low-Countries* (1669)  
Listed in no. 6 with a note that neither Greenough nor French had been able to verify its existence. Not listed in Wing.

- 52 *A Brief Character of the Low-Countries* . . . (London: Printed for R[ichard] Lowndes 1671)  
Listed in Wing (no. F652) with a single copy located at Yale. Marjorie G. Wynne, Research Librarian at the Beinecke Library, reports that there is no copy bearing this date in that collection (letter to me, dated May 14 1968). No. 79 (p 231 n 16) cites a copy in the Library of Congress, bound up with a Richard Lowndes issue of no. 50 dated 1670 (see no. 24); but the rare book librarians there are unable to locate such a volume (letter to me, dated Oct 18 1973). Possibly the sheets of no. 24 were originally issued with this title page.
- 53 *A Brief Character of the Low Countries* (1677)  
Listed in no. 6 as a reprint of the 1659 edition (no. 19); French was unable to verify its existence. Perhaps this is a confused reference to the folio reprint included in no. 26.
- 54 *Batavia* . . . (1697)  
8vo printing listed in *The Harleian Miscellany* and Wing's *A Gallery of Ghosts* (no. O F647C)

#### IV SCHOLARSHIP AND CRITICISM

- 55 Bergquist, Barbara E. Critical dissertation on *Resolves*, Univ of Pennsylvania, in progress
- 56 Boyce, Benjamin *The Polemic Character: 1640-1661* (Lincoln: Univ of Nebraska Press 1955; rpt NY: Octagon Books 1969)  
Discussion of *Low-Countries*, placing it within its tradition, but erroneously assuming that the political materials in it were added by the publisher (p 44-46); brief discussion of the 1628 excogitation "Of Puritans," pointing out its debt to the character genre (p 68).
- 57 Bush, Douglas *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, 1600-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon 1945; 2nd ed, rev 1962)  
Appreciative and illuminating discussion of *Resolves*; brief mention of *Low-Countries* and a few poems; short bibliography.
- 58 Constable, John *Reflections upon Accuracy of Style* (London: J. Osborn 1734) Facsimile rpt (Menston: Scolar) in preparation  
Criticizes the style of *Resolves* as "forced and artificial" and the lengthy metaphors as reflecting "a tedious kind of childishness"; includes several quotations from the work (Third Dialogue, p 68-112 *passim*).
- 59 Daniels, R. Balfour "Resolves of a Royalist" in *Some Seventeenth-Century Worthies in a Twentieth-Century Mirror* (Chapel Hill: Univ of North Carolina Press 1940) 140-44  
A slight but appreciative survey of Felltham and his work.
- 60 Hallam, Henry *Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: J. Murray 1837-39) 4 vols [frequently reissued]  
Accuses Felltham of artificiality, shallowness, and bad style (pt. III, ch. VI)
- 61 Hazlett, McCrea "'New Frame and Various Composition': Development in the Form of Owen Felltham's *Resolves*" *Modern Philology* 51 (1953) 93-101  
Discusses the changes made in style and genre from 1623 to 1661, arguing that the additions to and revisions of *Resolves* reflect Felltham's growing concern with persuading his readers; contains perceptive analyses of individual resolves.



- 62 Hutchinson, F. E. *Henry Vaughan: A Life and Interpretation* (Oxford: Clarendon 1947)  
Notes Vaughan's borrowings from Felltham's translations of Latin poetry and the use of a line from Felltham's epitaph for himself on Vaughan's tombstone (the latter first discussed by Hutchinson in *Notes & Queries* [N&Q] 186 [1944] 255); calls *Resolves* a "favorite book" of Vaughan's. See also R. G. Howarth N&Q n.s. 7 (1960) 65-66, and James D. Summons N&Q n.s. 8 (1961) 183-84.
- 63 Lievsay, John Leon "Daniel Tuvill's 'Resolves'" *Studies in Philology* 46 (1949) 196-203  
Defines the resolve and discusses Tuvill's collection; points out that Tuvill's collection influenced the earlier resolves of Felltham, while Felltham's resolves influenced the revisions made in later editions of Tuvill's work.
- 64 Jusserand, J. J. *A Literary History of the English People* (NY: Putnam's 1909) 3 vols  
Criticizes Felltham for fluctuating between "paradox and banality" in a work of "little profit" (III 497-98).
- 65 M., J. "Owen Feltham's Poems" *Gentleman's Magazine* 163 n.s. 9 (1838) 380-84  
Primarily on the occasional poetry; prints 7 poems; has a brief biographical introduction.
- 66 Patrides, C. A. "Bacon and Feltham: Victims of Literary Piracy" *Notes & Queries* n.s. 5 (1958) 63-65  
Points out Robert Herne's plagiarism of *Resolves* in his *Ros Coeli* (1640).
- 67 Peabworth, Ted-Larry *Owen Felltham* (NY: Twayne) in preparation  
Biography; lengthy critical discussions of *Resolves*, *Low-Countries*, and the poetry; concluding chapter on Felltham's reputation; annotated bibliography of major editions and studies. Attributes no. 50 to Weldon.
- 68 ——— "'Real English Evidence': Stoicism and the English Essay Tradition" *PMLA* 87 (1972) 101-02  
A response to Earl Miner's "Patterns of Stoicism in Thought and Prose Styles, 1530-1700" *PMLA* 85 (1970) 1023-34; refutes Miner's contention that Stoicism was more popular after the Restoration than before, citing the expansions and revisions of *Resolves* to show a lessening reliance on Stoicism as the century progressed.
- 69 Randolph, Thomas "To Mr. Feltham on his booke of Resolves" in *Poems with the Muses Looking-Glasse: And amyntas . . .* (Oxford: Printed . . . for Fra[n]cis Bowman M.DC. XXXVIII. 2nd ed 1640); rpt in G. Thorn-Drury, ed *The Poems of Thomas Randolph* (London: Frederick Etchells and Hugh Macdonald 1929)  
Written before Randolph and Felltham met; praises *Resolves* and the man reflected therein for moral goodness and stylistic force.
- 70 Robertson, Jean "Felltham's *Character of the Low Countries*" *Modern Language Notes* [MLN] 58 (1943) 385-88  
Discusses several truncated MS copies of the work and traces briefly the vogue for characterizing nations in the middle of the seventeenth century.
- 71 ——— "The Poems of Owen Felltham" *MLN* 58 (1943) 388-90  
Notes the 42 poems in no. 21 and three uncollected poems; discusses and prints an inaccurate transcription of a poem attributed to Felltham in Bodleian MS Ashmole 36 (see the textual note to poem M-2 in no. 46).

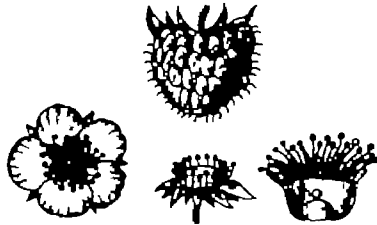
- 72 ——— "The Use Made of Owen Felltham's 'Resolves': A Study in Plagiarism" *Modern Language Review* 39 (1944) 108-15  
Presents detailed parallel readings from *Resolves* and several seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century works whose authors plagiarized Felltham.
- 73 Saintsbury, George A *History of English Criticism* (London: Blackwood 1925)  
Defends *Resolves* against the attack in no. 60, which he considers unjust.
- 73a Smith, Philip Allerton "Neo-Stoicism in English Prose of the Seventeenth Century" Dissertation, Harvard 1939; see Harvard Univ *Summaries of Ph.D. Theses* 1940 363-67  
Discusses Felltham as the most representative Neo-Stoic of his century (86-92 and *passim*)
- 74 Stapleton, Laurence "The Graces and the Muses: Felltham's *Resolves*" in *The Elected Circle: Studies in the Art of Prose* (Princeton Univ Press 1973) 73-92  
Sensitive exploration of the interaction between style and meaning, including the limitations imposed by genre; stresses the Christian rather than the Stoic aspect of Felltham's vision.
- 75 Stewart, Stanley "The Dissolution of the 'Centuries': A Prose Strategy" (paper read, English 6, MLA Convention, Dec 1970) abstract in *Seventeenth-Century News* 29 (1971) 19-20  
Argues that the revisions of and additions to *Resolves* indicate a decline in Felltham's trust in the efficacy of human effort.
- 76 Thompson, E. N. S. *Literary Bypaths of the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale Univ Press 1914)  
Discusses Felltham as a letter writer, concluding that he wrote as if furnishing models for others (p 117-18).
- 77 ——— *The Seventeenth-Century English Essay* (Iowa City: Univ of Iowa 1926; rpt NY: Haskell House 1967) University of Iowa Humanistic Studies no. III  
Discusses the genre and style of *Resolves*, for the most part favorably, but points out the drawbacks of an epigrammatic style (p 74-76).
- 78 Thorn-Drury, G. "Sir John Suckling" *Notes & Queries* [N&Q] 11th ser. 1 (1910) 281  
Correctly ascribes the poem "When, Dearest, I but think on thee" to Felltham, despite its inclusion in *The Last Remains of S<sup>r</sup> John Suckling* (London: Humphrey Moseley 1659). Other notes on its authorship include those by Robert Pierpont N&Q 11th s. 6 (1912) 346; W. F. Prideaux N&Q 11th s. 6 (1912) 431; and L. A. Beaurline N&Q 204 n.s. 6 (1949) 148-50, and *Studies in Philology* 57 (1960) 499. For a full discussion of its authorship and printing history, see the notes to poem L-32 in no. 46.
- 79 Thornton, Hortense E. "Owen Felltham: A Study in Seventeenth-century Prose" Dissertation, Howard Univ 1970; *DAI* 31 (1971) 5377A-78A  
Contains a life of Felltham, a discussion of prose style during his lifetime, an analysis of Felltham's style, and an evaluation of *Resolves* and the minor prose works; includes no. 50.
- 80 Todd, Henry John, Additions to Samuel Johnson's "History of the English Language" prefixed to the *Dictionary* (London: Longmans 1818) 4 vols [frequently reissued]  
Calls Felltham an "attractive writer" and *Resolves* a work "displaying fine sentiments and harmonious language; and sometimes highly poetical conception."
- 81 Walker, Hugh *The English Essay and Essayists* (London: Dent 1915)  
A lengthy, sympathetic treatment of *Resolves*, though it overemphasizes Bacon's influence (p 63-66).

- 82 Williamson, George *The Senecan Amble* (Chicago: Univ of Chicago Press; London: Faber and Faber 1951)

A rather lengthy discussion of Felltham's preference in prose styles (p 201-03) taken almost verbatim from Williamson's earlier study, "Senecan Style in the Seventeenth Century" *Philological Quarterly* 15 (1936) 321-51; rpt in *Milton & Others* (Chicago: Univ of Chicago Press; London: Faber and Faber 1965).

See also the reviews cited in the notations to nos. 21c, 23, 38, 39, 40, 41, and 42; and the critical comments in nos. 1, 2, and 3, and in the introductions to nos. 37, 42, 45, and 46.

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CAROL COLCLOUGH STRICKLAND

## Emmeline Grangerford, Mark Twain's Folk Artist

THAT MARK TWAIN used elements of folklore in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884) has often been acknowledged.<sup>1</sup> Critics have also diligently unearthed possible sources in popular literature for Miss Emmeline Grangerford's melancholy poetic effusions.<sup>2</sup> It has so far been overlooked, however, that American folk art provides a possible source for Emmeline's lugubrious drawings: the conventional mourning picture produced by amateur female artists in the first half of the nineteenth century is an exact match for the graveyard scene drawn by Emmeline. Considering Twain's departure from this tradition in describing Emmeline's other artistic productions casts new light on his thematic intentions in relation to the entire Grangerford sequence.

The mourning picture was part of the standard educational curriculum of genteel young ladies. The national mourning over George Washington's death in 1799 popularized the form,<sup>3</sup> and, according to Nina Little, "mourning pictures, or 'family mortuary grounds,' as they were called, hung in almost every home."<sup>4</sup> Since the pictures were painted as a

1 Critics who deal with Mark Twain's use of folklore are Victor Royce West "Folklore in the Works of Mark Twain" *University of Nebraska Studies in Language, Literature, and Criticism* 10 (1930) 1-87; Bernard DeVoto *Mark Twain's America and Mark Twain at Work* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin [1932] 1967); Constance Rourke *American Humor: A Study of the National Character* (NY: Harcourt, Brace 1931); Robert E. Bell "How Mark Twain Comments on Society through Use of Folklore" *Mark Twain Journal (MTwJ)* 10 (Summer 1955) 1-8, 24-25; Donald M. Winkelman "Three American Authors as Semi-folk Artists" *Journal of American Folklore* 78 (1965) 130-35; Ray W. Frantz, Jr. "The Role of Folklore in *Huckleberry Finn*" *American Literature (AmLit)* 28 (1956) 314-27.

2 Sources for Emmeline's poetry have been suggested by Scully Bradley and others, eds *Samuel Langhorne Clemens: Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (NY: Norton 1962) 251-54; L. W. Michaelson "Four Emmeline

Grangerfords" *MTwJ* 11 (Fall 1961) 10-12, John R. Byers, Jr. "Miss Emmeline Grangerford's Hymn Book" *AmLit* 43 (1971) 259-63; Walter Blair *Mark Twain and Huck Finn* (Berkeley: Univ of California Press 1960) 210-13, 406, n. 13; Blair and Hamlin Hill, eds *The Art of "Huckleberry Finn" by Samuel Clemens*, 2nd ed (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing 1969) 446-51; Robert J. Lowenherz "Mark Twain Laughs at Death" *MTwJ* 10 (Spring 1958) 2-5.

3 Mary Black and Jean Lipman *American Folk Painting* (NY: Clarkson N. Potter 1966) 100.

4 Nina Fletcher Little *The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection* (Boston: Little, Brown 1957) 123. Jean Lipman and Alice Winchester, in *The Flowering of American Folk Art, 1776-1876* (NY: Viking 1974) 80, note that the mourning picture's "practical function, in an age where there were no public records, was to set down for posterity the vital statistics of the deceased."

routine educational requirement, they were not necessarily an expression of personal bereavement, for the artist might not have even known the deceased whom her pictures memorialized, or she may have left blank the inscription space in anticipation of future use. The paintings were highly formalized, constructed according to specific rules which required the standard props of tomb, mourners at the grave, and weeping willow.<sup>5</sup> Alice Ford notes that the "familiar iconography" of the mourning picture depicted mourners "weeping or dry-eyed, but always pensive or sorrowful,"<sup>6</sup> clustered around a tombstone inscribed with a melancholy sentiment. In the 1840s, however, N. Currier produced lithographed "in memoriams" which contained all the stock elements, with only the name left blank to cover future contingencies. Since there was no longer a need to paint memorials by hand, the art form declined by the 1850s, a victim of technology.<sup>7</sup>

Since these mourning pictures were for half a century so widespread, however, Mark Twain probably encountered many hanging in homes he visited. Bernard De Voto sets the action of *Huckleberry Finn* during Mark Twain's boyhood years, before 1845 when Twain reached the age of ten,<sup>8</sup> and this time span covers the period of the mourning picture's popularity. According to Walter Blair's painstaking analysis, Twain wrote chapters 17 and 18 of the novel, which contain the Grangerford episode, between mid-October 1879 and mid-June 1880 in Hartford, Connecticut.<sup>9</sup> Even in the Hartford of that day Mark Twain might have encountered local mourning pictures to serve as models for his imagination, for the pictures were especially popular in New England and several extant examples of the art form were products of Connecticut.<sup>10</sup>

5 Jean Lipman *American Primitive Painting* (London: Oxford Univ Press 1942) 98.

6 Alice Ford *Pictorial Folk Art: New England to California* (NY: Studio Publications 1949) 28.

7 Little, p. xvi.

8 De Voto *Mark Twain's America* . . . 88

9 Blair *Mark Twain and Huck Finn* 199. Blair points out (p. 227) that Twain's working note for the chapter on the Grangerford's "interior desecration" was "Describe Aunt Patsy's house" where Twain spent his boyhood vacations. The Quarles farmhouse is also described in Mark Twain's *Autobiography*, but no mention is made of a mourning picture.

10 Mourning pictures found in Connecticut include one dating from the early nineteenth century shown in Peter C. Welsh's *American Folk Art: The Art and Spirit of a People* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution 1965)

and a "mourning picture for Polly Boesford and her children," p. 85 of Lipman and Winchester *Flowering Georgiana Brown Harbeson in American Needlework: The History of Decorative Stitchery and Embroidery from the Late 16th to the 20th Century* (NY: Coward-McCann 1938) p. 82, shows a mourning sampler by Elizabeth K. Bennett (1807), which is displayed in the Connecticut Historical Association of Hartford. Jean Lipman and Alice Winchester in *Primitive Painters in America: 1750-1950* (NY: Dodd Mead 1950) 22-29, describe and show the work of Eunice Pinney (1770-1849), a primitive water colorist and versifier famous for her memorial pictures. Eunice Pinney was a member of a prominent Connecticut family, daughter of wealthy parents and sister of a well-known Episcopal bishop. She had a daughter named Emeline.



Artist unknown "Memorial for Mrs Ebenezer Collins" (velvet, metallic braid, ink on paper, embroidery and watercolor on satin,  $17\frac{1}{2} \times 17\frac{1}{2}$ "), inscribed "So. Hadley [Massachusetts] July 15 1807"  
 —Private collection

The most convincing evidence of Mark Twain's familiarity with the mourning picture lies in his own description of Emmeline Grangerford's creation. Her first picture, done in "crayons"—as pastels were then called<sup>11</sup>—was judged by Huck "blackier, mostly, than is common."<sup>12</sup> (The mourning pictures were sketched, stitched, or painted in subdued colors with black predominating.) Huck continues his description:

One was a woman in a slim black dress, belted small under the armpits, with bulges like a cabbage in the middle of the sleeves, and a large black scoop-shovel bonnet with a black veil, and white slim ankles crossed about with black tape, and very wee black slippers, like a chisel, and she was leaning pensive on a tombstone on her right elbow, under a weeping willow, and her other hand hanging down her side holding a white handkerchief and a reticule, and underneath the picture it said "Shall I Never See Thee More Alas" (157–58).

This description is so completely accurate in its details that it would appear either that Mark Twain was thoroughly familiar with the conventional elements of the mourning picture genre or that he was actually describing a particular mourning picture as he looked at it or vividly remembered it. All the stock elements are there: the weeping willow, tombstone, and pensive mourner leaning on the monument. Even the style of dress common in mourning pictures is accurately reproduced.

But if the first description of one of Emmeline's paintings is a virtual facsimile of the mourning picture genre, the next three pictures Huck describes differ vastly from the tradition to show Twain's powers of invention. The second picture, rather than dealing with mourning for a human being, portrays the mourner lamenting over a dead bird:

Another one was a young lady with her hair all combed up straight to the top of her head, and knotted there in front of a comb like a chair-back, and she was crying into a handkerchief and had a dead bird laying on its back in her hand with its heels up, and underneath the picture it said "I Shall Never Hear Thy Sweet Chirrup More Alas" (158).

Here the young lady's hair-do is typical of the mourning picture style, as is her posture of weeping into a handkerchief, but the object of such bereavement, a stiff dead bird, is an example of pure Twainian imagination. The American folk mourning pictures may often have been insincerely mechanical, but they reflected a very serious approach to death which this elaborate mourning over a dead bird travesties.

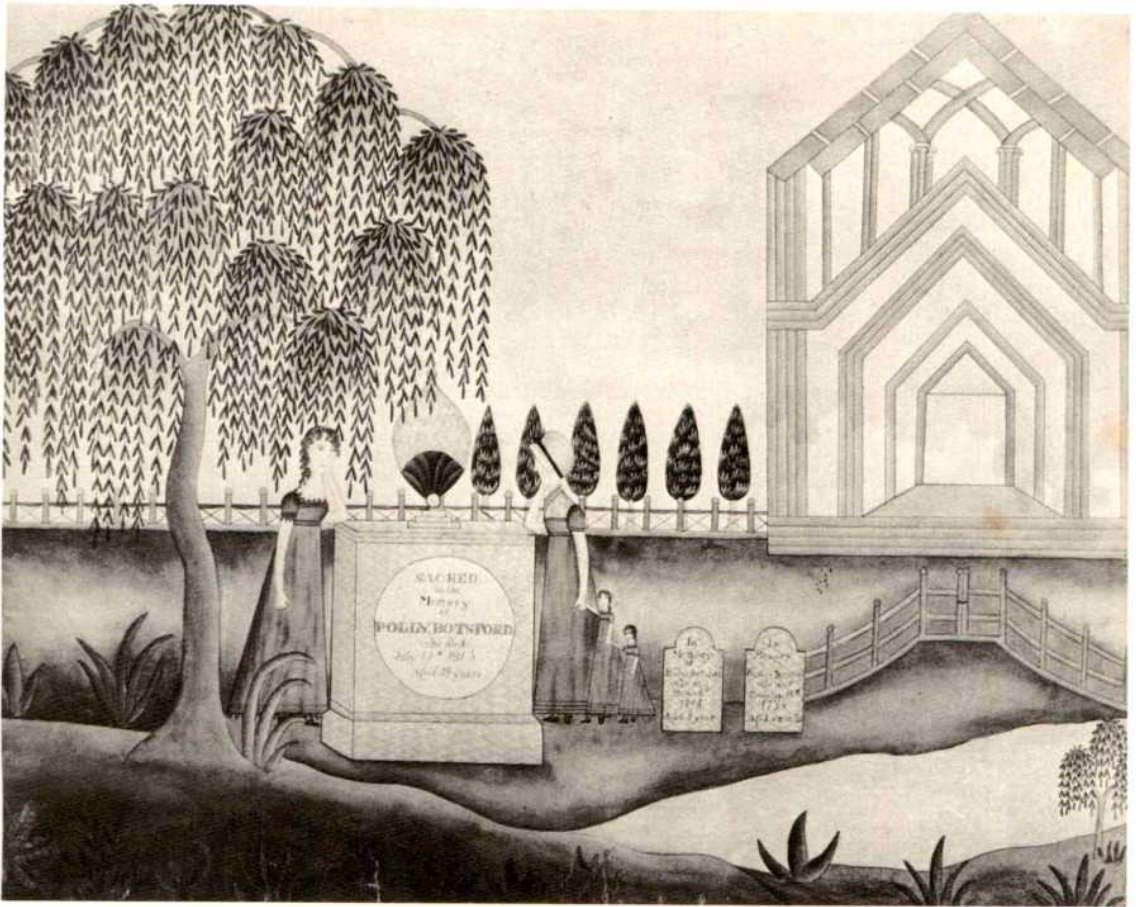
Huck's rendering of Emmeline's other two pictures shows Twain's complete departure

<sup>11</sup> Little, p 123.

<sup>12</sup> Mark Twain *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, in *The Art of "Huckleberry Finn"* eds Hill and Blair, p

157. Page numbers refer to this facsimile edition (see fn. 2), and hereafter are given within parentheses in the text.





Artist unknown "Mourning Picture—Polly Botsford and Her Children" (watercolor,  $18 \times 23\frac{1}{2}$ "), ca. 1815—Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection, Williamsburg, Virginia

from the mourning picture convention. One depicts a young lady weeping while clutching a letter and "mashing a locket with a chain to it against her mouth, and underneath the picture it said 'And Art Thou Gone Yes Thou Art Gone Alas'" (158). Emmeline's masterpiece was to be the picture of a "spidery" young woman preparing to jump off a bridge, with two arms folded across her breast, and two arms stretched out in front, and two more reaching up towards the moon—and the idea was to see which pair would look best and then scratch out all the other arms. . . . (159)



But Emmeline died and was in need of a mourning picture herself before completing her portrait of the woman yearning for death. Huck's observation that "with her disposition, she was having a better time in the graveyard" (158) seems to fit.

In these last two gloomy creations, in which the only conventional mourning picture element remaining is the weeping woman, Emmeline's expression takes the form of maudlin reveling in despair. All of her pictures, whether mourning the death of a person, bird, or love affair, have the same degree of gloomy intensity. The diction and lack of punctuation in all three inscriptions imply that they have been invoked formulaically;<sup>13</sup> the memorial tributes are equally appropriate, with only minor adaptation, whether the object of bereavement be human or fowl. The whole tenor of Emmeline's pictures is of excessive bathos regardless of whether the occasion merits such luxurious emotion. She will mourn a sparrow's death just as ardently as a person's, and she will experiment with various artistic arm arrangements to achieve the proper effect of frantic grief.

In his use of the mourning picture genre, Mark Twain has exercised considerable artistic license. He begins with a photographic description of a typical mourning picture which his readers could be expected to recognize. He goes on to burlesque the tradition through the devices of exaggeration and fantasy, as Emmeline's absurd fine feelings for a bird are reported—all this in Huck's uncritical deadpan. Thus, Twain's modification of the mourning picture aptly suits his comic purpose of satirizing sentimental romanticism, while it also contributes to the underlying serious purpose of the novel. Since Twain believed that the humorist was above all a moralist,<sup>14</sup> his transformation of the mourning picture into a source of comedy is an example of how his humor has a double edge, eliciting both laughter at humbug and outrage at false piety.

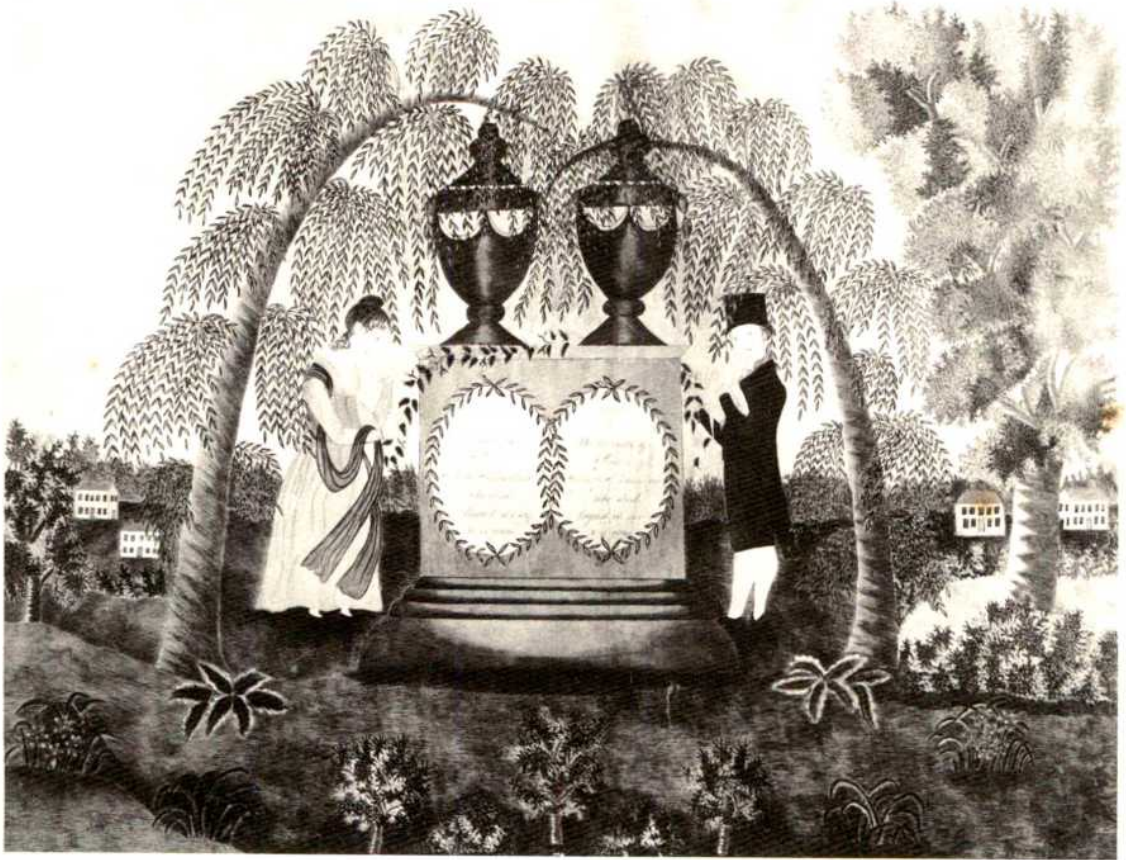
The mourning picture in American folk art was certainly highly stylized, rigidly prescribed, and an outgrowth of the Victorian woman's predilection for sentimentalism, but it also reflected a very real and pervasive preoccupation with death. Mary C. Black explains the basis of its fervid, though ritualized, sincerity:

Two facts that were close at hand in every community were the brevity of life and the imminence of death. Awareness of death's presence is given form . . . in the mourning pictures commemorating departed loved ones. . . . These are evidence of a deeply religious citizenry who looked with expectancy and hope to a life beyond the grave.<sup>15</sup>

13 Walter Blair *Mark Twain and Huck Finn* 230.

14 Kenneth S. Lynn "Huck and Jim" *Yale Review* 47 (1958) 423.

15 Mary C. Black "American Primitive Watercolors," p 58-76 in *What Is American in American Art* ed Jean Lipman (NY: McGraw-Hill 1963) 58.



Harriett Moore "Memorial for Nancy and Fanny Richardson" (watercolor,  $17\frac{1}{4} \times 23$ "), ca. 1817, Concord, Mass.—*New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown*

It is this respect for the contingency of death that Emmeline inadvertently mocks. Her absurd creations, especially the dead bird obituary, reveal how inappropriate are her claims to intense grief over death. Moreover, the Grangerford family's failure to perceive Emmeline's insincerity and their canonization of her attest to their own real insensitivity on the subject of death. Blair comments that Emmeline's and the whole family's "ostentatious and exaggerated mourning arouses suspicions that it is not wholly sincere."<sup>16</sup> The family's façade of

<sup>16</sup> Blair *Mark Twain and Huck Finn* 231.



Anna Maria Holmes "Mourning Picture for Wm. Card Esqr." (ink and needlework on silk,  $20\frac{1}{4} \times 20\frac{3}{4}$ "), ca. 1820, New England—Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Massachusetts

piety and tender compassion is grotesquely exposed as fraudulent when contrasted to the real and calamitous carnage of the feud with the Shepherdsons. A Shepherdson's death is not one meticulously to memorialize—as is the death of a bird—but only to gloat over.

Twain does not, however, intend for the reader to despise the Grangerfords. His satire of them, couched in terms of Huck's innocent admiration, is affectionate in chapter 17. But the account of the feud adds Twain's darker, more serious speculations about the dangers of hypocrisy and false sentiment to the light, comic treatment of the family's foibles exemplified by his satire of Emmeline's pictures. William Dean Howells has pertinently remarked that Mark Twain's wisdom "begins and ends in his humor,"<sup>17</sup> and Twain's satiric elaboration of the mourning picture tradition is a case in point. He renders the pictures, Emmeline, and the Grangerford family entertaining and comic but shows also that their attitudes can be deadly and tragic when not recognized as fallacious.<sup>18</sup>

*Rutgers University at Newark and Stevens Institute of Technology*



17 William Dean Howells "Mark Twain: An Inquiry" in *My Mark Twain: Reminiscences and Criticisms* (1910; rpt ed Marilyn Austin Baldwin [Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ Press 1967]) 160.

18 The four illustrations in this article have appeared as figures 113, 109, 114, and 110 in Lipman and Winchester *The Flowering of American Folk Art: 1776-1876*.



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VOLUME 79 · SPRING 1976 · NUMBER 3

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ON THE COVER: The King from *The Love for Three Oranges*, a costume design by Simon Lissim done in gouache in 1931 as a project for a production of the Prokofiev opera and re-done in 1974. The Library has just published *Dreams in the Theatre: Designs of Simon Lissim*, from which this design is reproduced; see "Recent Publications" in Front Matter, below.

*Bulletin of The New York Public Library* is published quarterly by The New York Public Library. Editor, David V. Erdman; Managing Editor, William L. Coakley; Assistant Editor, Marilan Lund, Editorial Secretary, Dorothy Petersen. Promotion, Rowe Porus. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. Subscriptions \$12.00 for volume 79, single numbers \$3.50 each. Address subscriptions and related correspondence to Readex Books (A Division of Readex Microprint Corporation), 101 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10003; and editorial, advertising, and all other inquiries to Editor's Office, Room 58, The New York Public Library, Fifth Avenue & 42nd St, New York, NY 10018. Volume 79, number 3 copyright © 1976, The New York Public Library. ISSN 0028-7466.





## FRONT MATTER

### *Bulletin Honored*

We are getting happily accustomed to people's praising our new *Bulletin's* design, typography, and quality of printing—as well as contents. It is nonetheless pleasing to have our printer, The Stinehour Press, receive the international Monotype Award for Photoset Composition for the *Bulletin's* setting. The contest, which has been held for sixteen years, is organized by the British publication *Lithoprinter*, a trade journal in the lithographic printing industry. The trophy for the photo-composition award, a new category this year, is held by the printer of the winning entry for a year following the competition.

The winning entries were announced and described and illustrated in the October issue of *Lithoprinter* (pages from the illustrated essay on Salomé and the edition of Garth letters in the Autumn 1974 *Bulletin* were reproduced). The editors of *Lithoprinter* noted that "a standard of excellence is necessary in the pursuit of any craft, and each year the winning entries in the competition do represent, in all the relevant classes, something of the very best print that can be produced under everyday commercial conditions."

Mr Francis Shannon, manager of Readex Microprint Limited in London, accepted the award for Stinehour at the ceremony. He was an appropriate proxy, for it has been the generous support of our co-publisher Readex Microprint Corporation that has enabled the Library to publish the *Bulletin* in its handsome new format since Autumn 1973.

### *Recent Publications*

*Aldington's Last Years: A Major Edition of Letters*—"Why must we be so damned mealy-mouthed?" wrote Richard Aldington, who was thinking about the crafts of biography and criticism, in a letter to an enthusiastic young scholar who was helping him in the research for his controversial book about "Lawrence of Arabia." Their correspondence developed into a comfortable, uninhibited exchange in which Aldington expounded his apt comments (which now seem prophetic) on the international scene, his memories (often bitter) of the literary friendships and battles of the golden days of his youth, and the details of his on-going fight with the British Establishment, presided over by Churchill himself, raising all the questions about libel, copyright restrictions, and censorship that continue to unsettle the publishing world.

Now the Library and Readex Books have issued a major publication of these letters: *A Passionate Prodigality: Letters to Alan Bird from Richard Aldington, 1947-1962*, edited by Miriam J. Benkovitz, which records the thoughts and remembrances of this important English writer at the end of a long life of achievement and controversy.

Professor Benkovitz, the biographer and bibliographer of novelist Ronald Firbank and noted commentator on twentieth-century literature, has edited the 147 letters now in the Library's Berg Collection, filling in the story of this document of Aldington's last years with scrupulous and perceptive introduction,

notes, and full biographical glossary and index.

Richard Aldington, poet, novelist, biographer, and anthologist, is perhaps best known for his anti-war novel *Death of a Hero* and for his provocative biographies of his friend D. H. Lawrence and of T. E. Lawrence, Norman Douglas, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Wellington. Husband of the poet H. D., friend (and often critic) of Ford Madox Ford, T. S. Eliot, and Ezra Pound, he knew most of the leading figures in the literary world of the early part of this century.

Throughout Aldington's correspondence, despite a stance that is often anti-British, anti-Russian, anti-"Yank," anti-"sodomite," the reader will recognize the integrity of an aggressive individuality rooted in deep knowledge and understanding. Aldington could fix his intense love or critical eye on medieval saint or modern political sinner, on the exquisite English lyric or the great art of centuries of European culture, or on the day-to-day problems of the neighboring workers and farmers caught in the world before "détente."

The handsome 376-page cloth-bound volume was designed by Marilan Lund and printed in the Library's Printing Office with a three-color calligraphic dust-jacket by Jeanyee Wong. It is available for \$15 at the Library's Sales Shops in the Fifth Avenue Central Building and at Lincoln Center; and by mail (pre-paid) from Readex Books, 101 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10003.

*Designs of Simon Lissim*—The eyes have it, in the mischievously dour, baroquely ensnathed king on the cover of this issue. He is Simon Lissim's King from *The Love for Three Oranges*, a costume design done in gouache

in 1931 as a project for a production of the Prokofiev opera and re-done in 1974. The design is reproduced from the title page of our recent publication, *Dreams in the Theatre: Designs of Simon Lissim*.

This catalogue of the winter 1975 exhibition in the Library's Vincent Astor Gallery (which will travel to the Columbus [Ohio] Gallery of Fine Arts in March 1976) celebrates the career of a master of comic fantasy and theatricality. Born in Kiev in 1900, Simon Lissim went to Paris in 1921, and there joined that marvelously productive Franco-Russian circle, which included the former *Mir Iskusstva* group and the Ballets Russes. He worked with Alexandra Exter, Bakst, and Lukomskii, among others; and he designed many productions for the Opéra Comique and for Lugué-Poe at the Théâtre de l'Œuvre (his designs for a Théâtre de l'Œuvre *Hamlet* in 1925 "were all the rage," Mahonri Sharp Young writes in the catalogue). In 1941, and after service in the French Army, Lissim immigrated to the United States. He began teaching at the City College of New York in 1943 (he is now Professor Emeritus of Art at the City College of the City University of New York); and his close association with The New York Public Library flourished—an exhibition of his works had already been held at the Hudson Park Branch from December 1937 to March 1938.

Though Lissim has worked in many fields in the fine and decorative arts, the present exhibition is limited to works for and inspired by the theatre. The catalogue includes a check list of designs, three essays (one by the artist himself), and a chronology and bibliography of writings by and about Lissim. It is amply illustrated (with a full-color wrap-around paper cover): there are many costume designs—a fat and sly cossack, a swashbuckling



colonel, a sad and foolish prince, Pantalone hoisted aloft by four scowling porters; there are all the animal creatures that are practically Lissim's trademark—fish, foxes, parrot, dragons, canines, and crocodile; there are stage designs, such as for *Hamlet* and *L'Aiglon*, which are hauntingly and sparsely rendered, infused with the spirit of the play. Thor E. Wood writes: "What we see here, filtered through the prism of Russia, Paris, and New York, is Lissim's unique blend of decoration, exoticism, humor, drama, stagecraft, and painterly skill. . . . Intermixed with moments of drama and tragedy, the circus, the side-show, and dreams will go on. Sometimes, in moments which perhaps move and disturb us most profoundly, these aspects merge into a whole which we recognize as being more complex than what we ordinarily perceive from life directly, and yet absolutely true to it."

The catalogue, 40 pages, with 29 illustrations, is available for \$5.00 at the Library's Sales Shops and by mail (pre-paid) from Readex Books, 101 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10003.

*The Heart of the Gotham: FS, GBM, & NYPL*

"Great collections deserve great libraries," wrote James W. Henderson, Mellon Director of The Research Libraries, to Frances Steloff, founder of the Gotham Book Mart, just a few days after Miss Steloff herself transported the major gift of her papers to the Library's Berg Collection of English and American Literature. That move from her beloved quarters on 47th Street took place, appropriately, on her birthday, and the Gotham's 55th anniversary, December 31 1974. Everyone in New York must know this joyful and astute bookwoman of the Gotham. It is she who, with uncanny

instinct for the future's judgment, has helped spread the word about the best in modern literature, a prominent figure among her books and cats at the GBM, as it is sometimes called by its habitués, as well as at poetry readings, meetings of the Joyce Society, and literary parties. Now all wise men and women of Gotham, or in it, will have access to her correspondence with the leaders of the literary, artistic, and performing arts worlds. Prominent in the gift are numerous letters from the writers she has particularly fostered: Henry Miller, Marianne Moore, Anais Nin, Katherine Anne Porter, and Gertrude Stein, and from other friends, such as Carl Van Vechten, Edith Sitwell, Michael Fraenkel, James Laughlin, and, one should note, Martha Graham. A significant group of manuscripts and correspondence is related to the catalogue *We Moderns*—the title still seems apt—published by GBM when "The Moderns" were very young. The manuscript drafts (1939) are included in the gift, in whose dialogues (Auden on MacNeice, Pound on "Possum" Eliot, Sherwood Anderson on Faulkner, Cummings on Pound, etc.) we can hear, as Berg Collection Curator Dr Lola Szladits has reminded us, one modern calling the other genius or worse. The Frances Steloff literary archive will be enhanced by a large collection of records of the Joyce Society, of which she was a founder, and many photographs of the delightful literary events at the Gotham. So much has been written of this legendary figure, by her friends among the literary great and by the press,<sup>4</sup> that little remains to be said as intro-

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, the Special Gotham Book Mart issue of *Journal of Modern Literature* 4 (Apr 1975), which is primarily devoted to the printing of Miss Steloff's engaging memoirs "In Touch with Genius"; W. R. Rogers *Wise Men Fish Here*. The

duction to the check list of her papers. But in thinking of the use of these documents of the making of modern literature, we may borrow a phrase from a letter in the collection from her friend Miss Moore: it is the "vibrations of mind & spirit" in the future that will bear our thanks to this genial bookwoman who is "in touch with genius."

### *Preliminary Check List of the Frances Steloff Papers*

Note: Authors are listed alphabetically with the number of letters in the collection if more than one (additional material primarily related to another author is listed within parentheses following that author's name).

Abbreviations: FS Frances Steloff, GBM Gotham Book Mart.

James Agee; Conrad and Mary Aiken 5; James (Dick) Anderson 6 (Basil Ivan Rákóczi 5); Margaret Anderson 40, 1 copy (Dorothy Caruso, Saxe Cornmins, Pascal Covici, Henry W. Simon, Harold Strauss, misc. item)

George Barker; Djuna Barnes 3 (Felicia Geffen, Frances Hanlin with note by Edmund Wilson, 2 misc. items), Sylvia Beach 4 (misc. item); William Rose Benét 66, 1 signed with Marjorie Benét (Marjorie (Flack) Benét 2, Lora (Baxter) Benét, 15 misc. items, including 1 printed Christmas card 1947, unsigned, from Marjorie and William Benét); Elizabeth Bishop; John Peale Bishop; John Black (misc. item); R. P. Blackmur (2 misc. items); Maxwell Bodenheim, Louise Bogan; Nelson Slade Bond; "Books that have influenced me": Lists from Kay Boyle, Horace Gregory, Frederick Prokosch, and Allen Tate; Kay Boyle 18, 1 ms poem (Ralph Bushee); Harvey Breit (2 misc. items); Beanie Breuer 15; Cleanth Brooks 3; Billie Burke 2; Kenneth Burke 2; Whit Burnett 5; Witter Bynner 11 (misc. item)

James Branch Cabell 3; Princess Marguerite Caetani; John Cage; Huntington Cairns 6; Erskine Caldwell 3 (4 misc. items); Albert Camus; Melville

Cane; Bennett Cerf 5; Paddy Chayefsky; Barrett H. Clark 21 (Mitchell Kennerley, 3 misc. items); Alex Comfort 2; Cyril Connolly; Frank Conroy; Malcolm Cowley 3 (misc. item); Robert Creeley 2 (Ann Creeley, Jonathan Williams); Caresse Crosby 31 (Robert Mann, 2 carbons of letters from FS to Caresse Crosby, 11 misc. items); e. e. cummings and Marion Morehouse 7 (misc. item)

Edward Dahlberg; [Salvador Dalí]: (Cass Canfield); Benjamin De Casseres 16 (Bio (Mrs Benjamin) De Casseres 5, 22 misc. items); Holly Beach Dennis 4; James Dickey (misc. item); John Dos Passos 11 (Beauford DeLaney, misc. item containing note by Edmund Wilson); Mrs Theodore Dreiser; Lawrence Durrell; Elga (Mrs Jean-Jacques) Duval 15 (misc. item)

Max Eastman; Richard Eberhart 22, ms poem inscribed to FS (Betty Eberhart); Leon Edel 2; Valerie (Mrs T. S.) Eliot 2; [Experimental Cinema]: (Lewis Jacobs, Seymour Stern 9, B. G. Braver-Mann, Stanley Rose Ltd 2, 17 misc. items)

Clifton Fadiman; James T. Farrell; Lawrence Ferlinghetti 3; Arthur Davison Ficke 12 (3 related items); Dudley Fitts 3; Robert Fitzgerald; John Gould Fletcher; Charles Henri Ford 13; Wallace Fowlie 4; Michael Fraenkel 102 (Carrefour Books 28, Daphne Fraenkel, Karl Frank, Elizabeth S. Ingersoll, Mrs George D. Meston, Morris Rosenblum, N. V. Martinus Nijhoff's Boekhandel, Cornish Brothers Booksellers, Grolier Book Shop, U.S. Post Office, Tice & Lynch Inc, Imprimerie Sainte Catherine, C. W. Daniel Co Ltd 3); Claude Fredericks (Banyan Press) 8; Gisèle Freund; Kimon Friar 5; Anne (Mrs R. Buckminster) Fuller

Donald C. Gallup 6 (Carl Van Vechten, James T. Babb, Bernhard Knollenberg); David Gascoyne 2 (misc. item); Allen Ginsberg; Martha Graham 3 (18 misc. pieces); Horace and Marya Zaturenska Gregory 2, Howard Griffin 6; Peggy Guggenheim; John Gunther

Donald Hall (misc. item); Frank Harris; Marsden Hartley 22 (2 misc. items); Archibald Henderson; Robert Henriques (misc. item); Langston Hughes 2

Eugene and Maria Jolas [and *transition*] 34 (2 misc. items), — [and *Vertical*] 6 (Peter Beilenson 10, U.S. Copyright Office 2, 43 misc. items), — [and *Transition Press*] 19 (Marguerite Duthuit 12, 23 misc. items)

E. McKnight Kauffer 9 (Marion Kauffer); Mary

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Story of Frances Steloff and the Gotham Book Mart (NY: Harcourt, Brace and World 1965); and Letty Cottin Pogrebin "A Heroine of Gotham" *New York Times Book Review* (Dec 31 1972).

Kennedy 4; Mitchell Kennerley [MK] 5 (newspaper clipping re: MK's death)

James Laughlin [JL] 80 (4 misc. items including galley sheet of "About Bilignin and Literature and the GBM" by JL, and MS announcement of JL's position as head of Left Bank, Experimental Lit Dept. at GBM); Frieda Lawrence 2; Richard LeGallienne; Little magazines 48 (misc. item); Robert Lowry 3

Robert McAlmon 4; William McFee; Phyllis McGinley; Archibald MacLeish, Norman Macleod [NM] 4 (mimeographed invitation signed by NM, Vivienne Koch Macleod, Norman Holmes Pearson, 6 misc. items); Roger Manvell; [Edwin Markham]: 2 envelopes addressed by Markham(?) to FS; John Martin 6; H. L. Mencken 7 (misc. item); Clark Mills 4; Henry Miller [HM] 276 (15 clippings or reviews re: HM, "What we could use" typescript list by HM, 23 letters to FS re: HM, 14 publishers' correspondence re: HM, 5 publishers' prospecti, HM Literary Society: Edward Schwartz to FS 5, mimeographed copy of court decision re: *Tropic of Cancer*, 18 letters re: importation of HM books from Mexico, 22 misc. items); Arthur Mizener 2; Harry T. Moore to FS 50, to Bertrand Russell, to Frieda Lawrence 2 (Frieda Lawrence 2, Caresse Crosby, 6 galley proofs, 12 letters concerning American publication of D. H. Lawrence / Bertrand Russell letters, 11 letters concerning British publication of Lawrence / Russell letters, 18 misc. items); Marianne Moore [MM] to FS 138, to Philip Lyman 10, to Mrs Klein [GBM] 3 (6 letters to MM, 2 MS book reviews by MM, 6 clippings re: MM, 10 letters to FS re: MM, Mary Walker Moore (mother of MM) 2, 21 misc. items); Frank Morley; John Myers (and carbon)

Peter Neagoe; Anais Nin [AN] 45 (biographical sketch, script for radio show featuring AN, 2 clippings re: AN, invoice from AN Press, publisher's trade list, 2 publisher's prospecti, publication announcement for *House of Incest*, Caedmon Records, Inc, 3 misc. items); Charles Norman 2 (misc. item)

Clifford Odets; Georgia O'Keeffe 17 (Richard Pritzlaff(?)—Christmas card); [Eugene O'Neill]: (3 letters, 1 copy, re: Eugene O'Neill); Sonia Orwell; [G. I. Ouspensky]: (2 letters written on his behalf—1 signed by E. R. Healey, 1 signed by Marie Seton);

Winthrop Palmer [WP] 25 (3 letters re: WP's "Ballad of the Three Sons," MS poem by WP, Peter

Beilenson—invoice, *Voices*. A Journal of Poetry 4, U.S. Copyright Office—Library of Congress, 2 publisher's prospecti, 3 misc. items); Kenneth Patchen [KP] 13 (Miriam (Mrs Kenneth) Patchen 47, 7 letters or Christmas cards signed Miriam and Kenneth Patchen, 2 letters to GBM re: KP, 4 clippings re: KP, 3 photographs, publisher's trade list, publisher's prospectus, announcement of benefit poetry reading for KP, program of San Francisco tribute to KP, mimeographed letter from KP Fund, program of KP poetry reading, article on KP by Margaret Rigg, 5 misc. items); Norman Holmes Pearson 11; Robert Phelps, Katherine Anne Porter [KAP] 23 (photograph of KAP, FS, etc, 4 misc. items); Dorothy (Mrs Ezra) Pound 2 (Homer L. Pound (father of Ezra), John Edwards); Frederic Prokosch 5; James Purdy [JP] 10 (2 reviews of "Children Is All" by JP, misc. item); Samuel Putnam [SP] 63 (Riva (Mrs Samuel) Putnam 16, 4 articles or reviews re: SP, printed list of original work by SP, 2 drafts of press releases re: SP, 2 typescripts of SP's translation of *Persephone*, U.S. Copyright Office—Library of Congress, certificate of registration of claim to copyright: *Persephone*, 6 letters re: publication of SP's translation of *Persephone*, 2 letters to FS re: SP, José Garndo Torres—3 drafts of press release re: exhibition of photographs by Riva Putnam, 8 misc. items including 2 printed Christmas cards from Sam and Riva Putnam, unsigned)

Kathleen Raine 3 (4 misc. items including Christmas card, signed); Natacha Rambova 4; Man Ray 2; Alastair Reid; Laura Riding 1, and 1 carbon; Henry Morton Robinson 2 including copy of letter from Robinson to Dr Ranjee Shahani; Paul Roche 3; Theodore Roethke [TR] 4 (James MacGibbon to TR—1 copy); Katharine Roosevelt 2 (Archie Roosevelt (Jr.), Eleanor Palffy); Nancy Wilson Ross; Paul Rotha [PR] 3 (prospectus for the reprinting of *The Film Till Now* by PR—copy, 3 letters, and 1 copy, re: reprinting of *The Film Till Now*); Dane Rudhyar [DR] 10 (biographical sketch, prospectus for *The Gospel to Individuals* by DR, program for Science—Religion Conference including note); Muriel Rukeyser [MR] 7 (Monica McCall, Inc, program of MR poetry reading—Library of Congress)

John Sanford (publisher's prospectus); John O. Sangster [JS] 15 (prospectus for *The Flaming Sword* by JS, "The Master Principle" (typescript) by JS,

"Sanctuary" by JS—2 newspaper clippings, insert for p 175 of ?, insert for final page of ?, 11 letters re: publication of *The Flaming Sword* and other works by JS, 4 photographs); Ralph Sargent 3 (Louise (Mrs Ralph) Sargent) 3); William Saroyan 7 (2 misc. items); Budd Schulberg 2; Carl E. Schultze [CES] (clipping re: CES, cartoon by CES); Ben Shahn; Ted Shawn 4 (Shawn and His Men Dancers: Continuation of Spring Route List); Upton Sinclair; Edith Sitwell [ES] 17 (4 clippings re: ES, Robert Hillyer "A Thought In Time": clipping mentioning ES, 6 R.S.V.P.'s for GBM party for Dr Edith and Sir Osbert Sitwell, letter to FS re: ES, Georgia Sitwell[?], 6 misc. items); Sacheverell Sitwell 2; Francis Steegmuller; William Steig 11; Gertrude Stein [GS] 2 ("A Village" printed poem by GS with added MS note by Addison Metcalf, clipping of photograph of GS, 17 misc. items); [Francis Steloff]: (95 letters re: FS, "Bookbuyers' Paradise" typescript of article by FS, "Some Gotham Party Lines" article by FS (*Confrontation*, Winter/Spring 1972), 2 clippings re: FS, *Who's Who in America* MS of entry re: FS); Wallace Stevens 2; [Robert Louis Stevenson]: (E. C. Pyle, 2 typescript copies of MS material by RLS); Wilbur Macey Stone 19; Vera (Mrs Igor) Stravinsky 7  
 Genevieve Taggard 15 ("Collected Poems by Genevieve Taggard" stamped "Your Christmas Homework—Genevieve Taggard": 6 p); Tambimuttu 9; Allen Tate 8 (misc. item); Sybil Thorndike 2; William York Tindall 3; Ruthven Todd; Alice B. Toklas 11; Charles Tomlinson

Sigrid Undset; Uspensky see Ouspensky

Carl Van Vechten [CVV] 39 (catalogue of CVV exhibition for Yale University Library with MS note by CVV, John Martin "Carl Van Vechten: 1880–1964" printed article accompanied by note from Arthur Todd to FS, Samuel Hoffenstein "The Tow-Headed Blind Boy" with MS note by CVV, misc. item)

Eudora Welty 2; Thornton Wilder [TW] 4 (Isabel Wilder 5, notes on unidentified MS re: FS by TW, 2 misc. items); William Carlos Williams [WCW] 17 (envelope with MS note "For poor poets" signed with initials W.C.W., Florence (Mrs William C.) Williams 4, article re: WCW (*New Yorker* Sept 27 1958) 2, statement of Society of the Friends of WCW, misc. item); Edmund Wilson 31; Donald Windham 5; Ernest Wood 38 (Hilda Wood 23, 11 letters or cards

signed Ernest and Hilda Wood, biographical sketch 2, 4 misc. items)

Art Young 6 including 4 Christmas cards designed by Art Young; Stark Young  
 Louis Zukofsky 3

### *We Moderns (1939): Contributions and Correspondence*

*Abbreviations* FS Frances Steloff, KS Kay Steele, L letter(s), MS manuscript, TS typescript, WM *We Moderns*

Conrad Aiken TS on Wallace Stevens, L to FS;  
 Sherwood Anderson TS on William Faulkner, L to FS; Edward C. Aswell TS on Vardis Fisher; W. H. Auden MS on Louis MacNeice

Howard Baker TS on Yvor Winters, L to KS;  
 Walter Benton TS on Robert MacAlmon, L to FS;  
 John Peale Bishop TS on Paul Rosenfeld, 2 L to FS;  
 Maxwell Bodenheim printed poem courtesy *Poetry* on John Gould Fletcher; Kay Boyle TS on Peter Neagoe, L to FS; Harvey Breit TS on John Dos Passos, L to FS; Bessie Breuer TS on Mary Butts, TS on William Faulkner (not used in WM); Bob Brown TS on Elliot Paul, L to FS; Whit Burnett TS on Little magazines, L to FS

John Cournos TS on Robert Graves; e. e. cummings TS on Ezra Pound, 2 L to FS

John Dos Passos TS on e. e. cummings, L to FS  
 Richard Eberhart TS on W. H. Auden, 8 L to GBM, TS on Frederic Prokosh (signed with pseud. R. E. Ghormley)

Dudley Fitts TS on Kenneth Fearing, TS on "Influences," L to FS; Robert Fitzgerald MS on Dudley Fitts, 2 L to KS; Kimball Flaccus TS on Alfred Kreymborg, L to KS; John Gould Fletcher TS on H.D.; Martha Foley TS on Eugene Jolas, Michael Fraenkel TS on Anais Nin

Lewis Gannett TS on William Saroyan, L to FS;  
 Gotham Book Mart TS on Richard Aldington  
 Robert Haas TS on Laura Riding

Peter Monro Jack TS on Wyndham Lewis; Joseph Henry Jackson TS on John Steinbeck, L to FS;  
 Eugene Jolas TS on James Joyce, 3 L to FS; Robert Edmond Jones TS on Jean Cocteau, L to GBM

Manuel Kromroff TS on Erskine Caldwell, L to FS;  
 Alfred Kreymborg TS on Conrad Aiken

James Laughlin TS on Henry Miller; Norman Macleod TS on Allen Tate, TS on Genevieve Taggard (signed in WM with pseud. Francis Norman); Helen

McMaster TS on Horace Gregory contained in body of L to GBM; Henry Miller TS on Michael Fraenkel; Arthur Mizener TS on Archibald MacLeish, 7 L to FS; Sam Morgan TS on Thomas Wolfe; David Morton TS on Robert Frost, L to KS

Peter Neagoe MS on Kay Boyle, 2 L to FS; Dorothy Norman TS on Franz Kafka; M. D. Herter Norton TS on Rainer Maria Rilke, L to FS

Kenneth Patchen TS on Stephen Spender, TS on Hart Crane (not used in WM), 3 L to FS and KS; John Pauker TS on Gerard Manley Hopkins, L to FS; Norman Holmes Pearson TS on William Carlos Williams, 5 L to FS and KS; Elizabeth Poor TS on Dorothy Richardson; Ezra Pound TS on T. S. Eliot; Samuel Putnam TS Introduction to WM, TS on Ernest Hemingway, TS on Norman MacLeod, 5 L to FS

Paul Rosenfeld TS on Sherwood Anderson, corrected proof of paragraph about Sherwood Anderson, L to GBM; Bill Roth TS on William Butler Yeats, L to KS

William Saroyan TS on Bob Brown; Delmore Schwartz TS on Hart Crane, L to FS; Harry

Slochow TS on Thomas Mann, L to FS, John J. Slocum TS on I. A. Richards, TS on James Joyce (not used in WM), L to FS; Robert Paul Smith TS on Katherine Anne Porter; Maurice J. Speiser TS on James T. Farrell contained in body of L to FS; Gertrude Stein TS on Paris contained in body of L to FS; James Stern TS on Christopher Isherwood contained in L to KS

Genevieve Taggard TS on C. Day Lewis, L to FS; Allen Tate TS on Edmund Wilson, 3 L to FS and KS

Carl Van Vechten TS on Gertrude Stein contained in body of L to FS

John Wheelwright TS on Kenneth Patchen, L to FS; William Carlos Williams TS Introduction on "Modern Writers," 2 L to FS; Edmund Wilson TS on John Peale Bishop, 2 L to FS and KS

\* \* \*

*We Moderns*: 6 L with reactions to WM, 22 L by writers approached to help with WM who refused or whose contributions were not used, 7 misc. items



MORTON D. PALEY

## John Camden Hotten, A. C. Swinburne, and the Blake Facsimiles of 1868

THE VICTORIAN publisher John Camden Hotten (1832–1873) has an important place in the history of Blake studies. He was the publisher of the first book of criticism on Blake, *William Blake: a Critical Essay* by Algernon Charles Swinburne (1868), and he was also responsible for the first published facsimile of an illuminated book—*The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1868). Yet Hotten is not so much known for these and other pioneering publishing ventures as he is for the so-called “John Camden Hotten forgeries,” drawings once in Hotten’s possession and later falsely attributed to Blake. Hotten’s Blake projects have never been given the attention they deserve, while the question of why a successful publisher—Hotten’s estate was valued at over £19,000 when he died at the age of forty-one<sup>1</sup>—should bother forging rough drawings on cheap paper when original Blakes of this quality were still inexpensive seems never to have been raised. It is time to ask this question as well as to investigate other aspects of Hotten’s career.

On January 1 1940 Graham Robertson wrote to Kerrison Preston:

A young man in Philadelphia<sup>2</sup> is trying to compile a Catalogue Raisonné of Blake’s works and I am doing a bit of devilling for him, which is quite amusing and interesting. He says there is quite a formidable array of wrong ’uns in America, mostly emerging in the first place from the cellar of a certain Mr. John Camden Hotten and making their début at the Boston exhibition of 1880. Did you ever hear of Hotten? Swinburne apparently knew him and had no respect for his integrity.

That fake page from Europe which I spotted in Darrell Figgis’s book<sup>3</sup> was one of his.<sup>4</sup>

1 July 4 1873. “Administration of the effects of John Camden Hotten late of Piccadilly and of 4 Martland-Park-villas Haverstock Hill both in the county of Middlesex who died 14 June 1873 . . .” (Somerset House).

2 Evidently Edwin Wolf II, as identified by Robertson in a letter to Frances Emerson: *Letters to Frances*

*White Emerson from W. Graham Robertson* [Cambridge, England, privately printed 1948] 41.

3 *The Paintings of William Blake* (London: E. Benn 1925) plate 96

4 *Letters from Graham Robertson* ed Kerrison Preston (London: H. Hamilton 1953) 429–30.

No doubt rumors of "Hotten forgeries" had been circulating, but here we have the first documented statement of what has become a received belief: that John Camden Hotten was a forger and a cheat who unloaded a large number of spurious Blakes on the art market. We soon find Robertson writing of this at greater length:

I've got my Blake stuff off to Philadelphia and hope that it may be of use. I also sent you news of John Camden Hotten. He evidently published several volumes of Swinburne. His "Blakes"—mostly pretending to be stray leaves from the Prophetic Books, printed separately and "worked up"—apparently emerged from concealment in the late 'seventies, appeared in an exhibition at Boston, and got themselves into the 1880 edition of Gilchrist, where they appear in a little separate list and I think are regarded with some doubt. The page which I spotted in Figgis's book was among them, so I don't think they can have been very convincing. My Philadelphia boy says, "Since 1891 these drawings have been scattered—about twenty were sold to Marsden J. Perry of Providence, who sold them—together with other bona fide Blakes—to William A. White, of whom you know, and a large part of whose collection Dr. Rosenbach bought. These are now lying in an old print cabinet in our store so that I can speak of their unquestioned bad odor and not be called prejudiced." My boy, as you may gather, is in the great Rosenbach's employment.<sup>5</sup>

W. Graham Robertson, a great collector to whom Blake scholars will always be indebted, apparently did not know that Hotten had died in 1873 and that therefore the emergence of pictures from concealment in the late 'seventies could not have been his responsibility. In all Hotten's voluminous sales catalogues there appears not a single item offered as an original Blake—and this includes the ten catalogues that were required to dispose of Hotten's collections after his death. Although it is true that William Michael Rossetti appended "Extracts from the Boston Catalogue" to his list of Blake's works, he says he did so "Partly for convenience' sake, and partly on the ground that the new items may perhaps, in some instances, be identical with some of the numbered items in the Annotated Catalogue. . . ."<sup>6</sup> And while a few of the pictures classed as "Hottens" are "worked up," the majority are roughly executed sketches on poor paper. In fact, while Hotten did own a number of these pictures, there exists no evidence that he meant them to pass as Blakes. Before we continue the story of these drawings, however, we must consider the view of Hotten which was entertained by

5 *Ibid* 430. These odious drawings had apparently been preceded by others, for in a 1916 Rosenbach catalogue "The eight water colors for Comus, together with a volume of what were optimistically called original designs for *America*, *Blair's Grave*, and *Dante* were offered for \$29,000"—Edwin Wolf II with John F.

Fleming *Rosenbach: a Biography* (Cleveland: World 1960) 99. The lot was later sold to Henry E. Huntington for \$17,200 (p. 102).

6 In Alexander Gilchrist *The Life of William Blake* (London and Cambridge: Macmillan 2nd ed 1880) II 276.

some of his contemporaries, for were it not for his reputation the myth of his forgeries would no doubt have been exploded long before now.

John Camden Hotten had the misfortune to incur the enmity of men whose words lived on, to be taken at face value without the possibility of response. Mark Twain referred to him as "John Camden Hottentot";<sup>7</sup> Swinburne, in a letter we will examine later, wrote that Hotten's death of a surfeit of pork chops illustrated the dangers of cannibalism. Even the second-rate wit George Augustus Sala composed an epitaph that, in the various biographies of Ambrose Bierce, is still with us: "Hotten / Rotten / Forgotten."<sup>8</sup> Bierce himself claimed that Hotten had died in order to cheat him of a hundred pounds. What had Hotten done to provoke such abuse and to make the world ready to believe he was a forger as well? The answer lies in a combination of circumstances, some of which were Hotten's own responsibility, some of which concerned the moral standards of the Victorian period, and some of which he was entirely ignorant of. To put the case against him most bluntly: he published a number of volumes of pornography; he mis-numbered and mis-dated a few of his publications; he printed works by several British authors, including Tennyson and Bright, against their wishes; he "pirated" the works of certain American authors; and he incurred the implacable enmity of Swinburne. This seems like a damaging list of accusations, but its weight diminishes upon close examination. What little remains must be balanced against Hotten's positive achievements as a publisher.

Hotten was indeed a publisher of what was called "tabooed literature." He made little attempt to disguise the fact, advertising some of his pornographic works with his other publications in sale catalogues. He was, says the author of the great *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, "almost the only respectable English publisher of tabooed literature."<sup>9</sup> It should be remembered, however, that not all books in this category were pornographic. For example, Ashbee includes Hotten's edition of *A Discourse on the Worship of Priapus* by Richard Payne Knight (1865), a book which seems to have influenced Blake after its original publication in 1786, as the phallic drawings in *The Four Zoas* suggest. (In Hotten's time, even portions of Blake's works were "tabooed": owing to the moral scruples of the pub-

7 *The Spectator* 45 (September 21 1872) 1201-02. See Dewey Ganzel "Samuel Clemens and John Camden Hotten" *The Library* 20 (1965) 230-42, for an account of this dispute.

8 Adolphe de Castro *Portrait of Ambrose Bierce* (NY and London: Century 1929) 42.

9 "Pisanus Fraxbee" [H. Spencer Ashbee] *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (London: Skilton 1877) 252. In this study of Hotten, Ashbee's own interleaved copy, now in the British Museum, has been consulted extensively.



lisher Macmillan, Anne Gilchrist was unable to include excerpts from *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* in her late husband's *Life*.) And although erotic literature never accounted for more than a fraction of Hotten's publications, and a very small fraction at that, he seems to have had more than a pecuniary interest in it. Ashbee says elegiacally, "He took a special interest in this branch of his business and was wont to call it his 'flower garden.' Since his death little worthy of commendation has been produced; from time to time, it is true, an old volume or so is issued, but without plates, or if it is illustrated, the old stones, which have not been destroyed, are reworked."<sup>10</sup> Indeed, far from being a lucrative source of income, Hotten's erotica seem scarcely to have sold at all. When Andrew Chatto, the junior partner who purchased the firm, sold off the tabooed books, *Female Flagellants* had sold no more than 30 of 250 copies; *The Merry Order of St. Bridget* only 50 of 500; John Wilkes's *Essay on Women* only 25 of 250. The remainder of these and of some other titles were bought by the New York dealer J. W. Bouton, of whom more must be said later. When we observe that fewer than ten of Hotten's hundreds of published volumes can be classified as erotica, the conclusion seems inescapable that Hotten got more pleasure than profit from this part of his business. Yet in books on Swinburne, for example, we continue to find statements such as "he entered into an agreement with an unsavory publisher, John Camden Hotten, who had built his business largely on the publishing and selling of pornographic books to a carefully selected clientele."<sup>11</sup>

Most of Hotten's misdeeds with respect to false dating and false numbering were performed in his "flower garden." Thus, for example, an edition of 100 copies of *Aphrodisiacs and Anti-Aphrodisiacs* by John Davenport was advertised, but 250 were actually printed. *The Merry Order of St. Bridget / Personal Recollections of the Use of the Rod* by "Margaret Anson" with the imprint "York: Printed for the Author's Friends" and dated 1858 was actually published by Hotten in 1868, and the author was James G. Bertram, author of *A History of the Rod in All Countries* (Edinburgh 1870) under the pseudonym of "the Rev. Wm. Cooper, B.A." (Hotten published a second edition in 1873). But as Steven Marcus has pointed out, Hotten had such practices in common with almost all other publishers of pornography; it seems to be part of the game to make something of a mystery around the forbidden book, misleading the reader as to author, date, and attribution even where there can be no material motive for doing so.<sup>12</sup> The ethical norms of publishing cannot be applied to a field where fabrication is the norm. Although Hotten carried out his fabrications with *brío*, these excursions into *la maladie anglaise* cost his reputation dearly. They were also a

<sup>10</sup> *Index* xxviii-xxix.

<sup>12</sup> Ashbee *Index* 82-83, 305; Steven Marcus *The*

<sup>11</sup> John A. Cassidy *Algernon C. Swinburne* (NY: Other Victorians (NY: Basic Books 1966) 72. Twayne 1964) 117.

determining factor, partly in ways he himself never realized, in his dealings with Swinburne.

Hotten also had a reputation as a publisher who dealt fast and loose with copyright. The reputation was in part deserved. In 1862 Tennyson sued Hotten for selling an edition of his early poems. With typical verve Hotten had advertised this as Tennyson's "Lost Poems" and claimed that "they have been collected with considerable care and labor by a gentleman of great literary taste [i.e. J. Dykes Campbell] in Western Canada" and printed "at the Backwoods press."<sup>13</sup> Tennyson's lawyers were able to show that the poems had been pirated from *Poems, chiefly Lyrical* (1830) and *Poems* (1832). Yet Hotten's defense has some literary if not legal weight when he later questions the right of a famous poet, especially the Poet Laureate, to suppress his own early works or to publish them only in revised form. For example, Hotten argues, "his 'Confessions of a Sensitive Mind' may not now be to his taste, but the mystic beauty of its lines will probably insure it a life as long as any of those poems which their author cherished more fondly."<sup>14</sup> In 1879 the poet again blocked publication of the poem, this time by the *Christian Signal*, but it was included in the complete edition of 1884.<sup>15</sup> Hotten was on firmer legal ground with respect to the speeches of John Bright. These had been delivered in Parliament and printed in Hansard; they were in a sense the property of the public. In Bright's own edition of the speeches, Hotten argued, some passages about Gladstone, of whose cabinet Bright had later become a member, were omitted; this was to falsify history in the interest of politics, while "the interest of the public in such matters is summed up in truth and accuracy."<sup>16</sup> Although Hotten's *Literary Copyright* may be a defense of his own publishing practices, it is also an eloquent plea for what Hotten calls "The Rights of Readers."

If the copyright situation in England was somewhat confused, in part owing to the Copyright Act of 1842 (which had extended the duration of some but not all past copyrights), the situation with respect to America was chaotic. There was no international copyright agreement. Publishers such as Hotten who "pirated" the works of American authors were matched by the American publishers who printed, without permission, works by the

13 In Chancery / Master of the Rolls / Between Alfred Tennyson, Plaintiff / and / John Camden Hotten, Defendant / Amended / Bill of Complaint. The book actually was printed in Canada, though in no wilder place than Toronto, by James Dykes Campbell. See David Sinclair "The First Pirated Edition of Tennyson's Poems" *The Book Collector* 22 (1973) 177-88.

14 *Literary Copyright: Seven Letters Addressed by Permission to the Right Hon. The Earl Stanhope* (Lon-

don: Hotten 1871) 146.

15 Hotten may have known that the poem, "Supposed Confessions of a Second-Rate Sensitive Mind," had been praised highly by Arthur Hallam in "On Some of the Characteristics of Modern Poetry and on the Lyrical Poems of Alfred Tennyson" *Englishman's Magazine* 1 (1831) 616-28.

16 *Literary Copyright* 101.

great Victorians. What was needed was mutual copyright, which would benefit authors and public on both sides of the Atlantic. "Rights," Hotten declared, "are the creation of public law and . . . in the absence of such law and rights there can be no infringement."<sup>17</sup> He argued vigorously for such an agreement but in the absence of one he continued to publish such American authors as James Russell Lowell, Mark Twain, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Bret Harte. Yet not all his trans-Atlantic activity was piratical. In 1868 Hotten published the first selection of Walt Whitman's poems to appear in England. This volume, edited by William Michael Rossetti, whom Hotten had approached for the purpose, was published with Whitman's approval. According to Gay Wilson Allen, "this edition was a turning point in his career, for it won him the attention and later support of several writers who were to be of great help to him, personally, financially, and as promoters of his fame."<sup>18</sup> In recognition of his role in transmitting American literature to the British reading public, a plaque was dedicated to Hotten at an Indianapolis library in 1901.<sup>19</sup>

We now come to the single matter other than the "forgeries" which has most damaged Hotten's posthumous reputation: his condemnation by Algernon Charles Swinburne. It was, ironically, Hotten who had established Swinburne as a poet of great importance by publishing *Poems and Ballads* in 1866. Previously, from 1860, Swinburne's publisher had been Moxon & Co. The firm was managed by a former employee of Moxon's, James Bertrand Payne, Moxon having died in 1858.<sup>20</sup> With Moxon & Co Swinburne published *The Queen Mother* (1860), *Atalanta in Calydon* (1865) and *Chastelard* (1865). Moxon's was also to publish the *Poems and Ballads*. One thousand copies were printed in 1866, but on learning that *The Times* was preparing to attack the book on moral grounds, Payne withdrew it. Routledge declined the opportunity of considering it, and for a time it seemed as if Swinburne's career as a poet might be buried. It was at this point that Hotten came forward. He offered Swinburne £200 for the right to publish *Poems and Ballads*, and consequently

17 *Ibid* 25.

18 *The Solitary Singer* (NY: Macmillan 1955) 388.

19 See *A Century of Writers* ed D. M. Low et al (London: Chatto & Windus 1955) 15-16.

20 Some of the information here is from *The Swinburne Letters* ed Cecil Y. Lang (6 vols New Haven: Yale Univ Press 1959-1962) and from Thomas J. Wise *A Bibliography of the Writings in Prose and Verse of Algernon Charles Swinburne* (2 vols London: R. Clay 1919). Wise must of course be used with care, while even Lang's masterful edition has inaccuracies about Hotten. For example, J. B. Payne was sued for fraud by Moxon's widow, and it is surely to Payne that Swin-

burne refers as "my then [1865] acting publisher in London—who has since been tried and convicted on three several charges of fraud and robbery of the employers in whose name he acted" (to E. C. Stedman Feb 20 1875: *Letters* III 15). It is a mark of the power of myth that "the now convicted thief" to whom Swinburne refers is identified by Professor Lang as Hotten! Moxon, not Hotten, was Swinburne's publisher in 1865; Hotten could not defraud his employer as he had none, while Payne, Mrs Moxon's employee, was financially ruined by her successful lawsuit. (*Swinburne Letters* VI 361; *Wise Bibliography . . . of . . . Swinburne* I 103.)

Swinburne withdrew his earlier works from the Moxon firm and transferred them to Hotten. Next Swinburne published, at Hotten's urging, a defense entitled *Notes on Poems and Reviews*. This was followed by *A Song of Italy* (1867), *Dolores* (1868), *Siena*<sup>21</sup> (1868), *William Blake* (1868), and *Notes on the Royal Academy Exhibition* (1868). Hotten, as D. M. Low has remarked, "had transformed himself into what every publisher must become if he wishes his name to mean anything in literary history—a vital collaborator, willing to finance and market wares which possess inspiring, experimental, and even explosive qualities."<sup>22</sup> However, the collaboration was a short-lived one. Hotten did not publish a single new work of Swinburne's after 1868; *Ode on the Proclamation of the French Republic* (1870) and *Songs Before Sunrise* (1871) were published by Ellis. By the year of Hotten's death, 1873, Swinburne had for some time been trying to transfer his earlier works to another publisher and would only communicate with Hotten through lawyers. Thus the relationship which had begun so promisingly in 1866 lasted only two years. What caused it to deteriorate?

It has been generally believed that the dispute was primarily about royalties and that Hotten was systematically cheating Swinburne. Wise (1931) says:

Hotten repeatedly reprinted *Poems and Ballads* without any notification of the fact appearing on the title page, until the close of the year, with its necessary change of date, rendered it very difficult for him any longer to continue the practice. The benefits accruing to himself by being relieved from the necessity of paying the Author's royalty upon successive editions are obvious; whilst the very large number of surviving copies of this variety of the book, some of which present very perceptible differences of types and spacing, render such a supposition anything but improbable.

This may be so; yet it does not appear to be what was bothering Swinburne. In February 1873 Swinburne declared to Charles Augustus Howell, who was dealing with Hotten for him, "As I have never had to bring, and have assuredly never brought, any charge against him of dishonest dealing during the date of that connection, I see no reason why we should part on hostile terms, or why for instance I should cease to deal with him as of old in his bookselling capacity because I see fit to end my relations with him as a publisher."<sup>23</sup> Hotten, for his part, insisted that he had dealt with Swinburne honestly. On June 24 1868 he wrote to James Ranken, Swinburne's solicitor: "The '*Essay on Blake*' has not yet paid

21 *Siena* was printed in an edition of only six copies for copyright purposes. The number was later augmented by T. J. Wise's forgeries—see John Carter and Graham Pollard *An Inquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets* (London: Constable 1934) 278–89. Carter and Pollard dismiss Wise's claim that Hotten regularly sold *Siena* for 5s or 10s., and they

identify two other supposed Hotten editions of Swinburne as Wise forgeries (*Cleopatra* and *Dolores*).

22 Low ed *A Century of Writers* 14.

23 *Swinburne Letters* II 226. By "the date of that connection" Swinburne means the period during which Hotten was his authorized publisher.

the cost of production, mainly owing to the expenses [?]<sup>24</sup>—as with which it was burdened by Messrs. Moxon & Co. We had sent a large number of copies abroad, at such a low price as would prevent reprinting, but returns received from our agent on Monday last do not enable us to place anything to Mr. Swinburne's credit as we had hoped to have done.”<sup>24</sup> On July 14 1869 Hotten again replied to allegations that Swinburne should be receiving more royalties. By the following year the subject is no longer royalties but the transfer of copyright. There is a certain pathos in Hotten's letter to Hughes and Son dated June 28 1870: “Of course now S. has been whitewashed—or rather rubbed off his dirt—many publishers will be glad of him. But having borne the heat of the day I am entitled to the cool evening.”

Hotten's death prevented the matter from going to the law courts, and Andrew Chatto offered Swinburne terms the poet found acceptable; so Swinburne's works continued to be published by the firm that Hotten had founded. This did not eradicate Swinburne's animus toward Hotten, however, which flashes up in a letter written almost fifteen years after the publisher's death. The occasion was Wise's presentation to Swinburne of a copy of *Cleopatra* bearing Hotten's imprint and the date 1866. Swinburne wrote: “I am certain, quite positive, that I never set eyes on the booklet before, nor heard of its existence. It is to me a fresh proof that the moral character of the worthy Mr. Hotten was—I was about, very inaccurately, to say—ambiguous. He was a serviceable sort of fellow in his way, but decidedly what Dr. Johnson would have called ‘a shady lot,’ and Lord Chesterfield ‘a rum customer.’ When I heard that he had died of a surfeit of pork chops, I observed that this was a serious argument against my friend (Sir) Richard Burton's views of cannibalism as a wholesome and natural method of diet.”<sup>25</sup> Alas, neither Swinburne nor his great moral allies knew that *Cleopatra* had been printed not by Hotten in 1866 but by Wise in 1888. The vehemence of Swinburne's language, moreover, betrays problems deeper than those of old rights and royalties. Biographers have commented upon the extraordinary changes that Swinburne went through at The Pines in his childish dependence upon Theodore Watts-Dunton. This transformation involved rejecting much of his past life and denying the sado-masochism which he had both practised and written about. It was Hotten's misfortune to have possessed relics of that past life in the form of manuscripts which Swinburne had given

<sup>24</sup> This and other statements by Hotten, unless otherwise noted, are taken from the Hotten letter books preserved at Chatto and Windus. I am grateful to Mr. Geoffrey Trevelyan for allowing me access to these. Hotten's point about the low price set for copies sent

abroad refers again to the absence of Anglo-American copyright: books imported from one country to the other had to be priced below the cost of a new edition.  
<sup>25</sup> *Swinburne Letters* v 235 (April 27 1888).

him. In his letter to Howell already cited, Swinburne gives his account of this matter, which must be quoted at length:

It is probably not worth while to touch on so small a matter, but in full confidence I may do so to a friend with whom I have been for years on such intimate brotherly terms as yourself. I think he may have some papers relating to me in the mass of his collections, of which an unscrupulous man might possibly make some annoying use. You know that we have all of us—and most especially myself—no lack of verminous enemies who would be glad of any secret handle though never so slight for the throwing of fresh dirt. I am as indifferent to this as any man, and to all who know me I think I may flatter myself I have given tolerably good proof of my indifference and equanimity on such points; but I should of course not like any scrap *signed* with my name which in the dirty hands of a Grubstreet libeller might be turned to ridicule or to any calumnious or vexatious purpose to fall into such hands if such an accident could be avoided. Neither Hotten nor for that matter any man alive has in his possession anything from my hand for which I need feel shame or serious regret or apprehension even should it be exposed to public view; but without any such cause for fear or shame we may all agree that we shrink, and that reasonably, from the notion that all our private papers thrown off in moments of chaff or Rabelaisian exchange of burlesque correspondence between friends who understand the fun, and have the watchword as it were under which a jest passes and circulates in the right quarter, should ever be liable to the inspection or the construction of common or unfriendly eyes. I don't mean that Hotten could shew any such Rabelaisian effusions from my "festive" pen as Rossetti or one or two others of our circle might; but I remember that when he was busied about his abortive book on "Flagellation" [*I both talked and wrote for*] some sort of communication on the topic passed between us, and that I once gave him, what I *think* he never returned to me, a list drawn up in my hand of scenes in a school which he was to get sketched for me on approval by a draughtsman of his acquaintance (I believe, one Corcoran, who did "vignettes" for one or two of his books), in which list, though there was nothing equivocal or dirty in any way, I had just explained the postures and actions of "swishing" to be shewn in detail, just as a boy at school would draw them for fun from the life, with due effect and relief given to the more important points of view during the transaction; and I would rather be sure they might not shew it about for "cads" to comment on or stick it in his blank book among papers relating to me. This is really all the matter, and I really don't know that it is worth the ink I have spent on it. Of course, above all things, nothing must be said to Hotten which might possibly suggest to him an [*opportu*] the idea that I am in any way apprehensive of his making it an instrument of annoyance to me; which in fact I am not, and have no reason to be. Indeed, I see he advertises a new "Romance of the Rod" as in preparation, to which I should be happy to lend any assistance that I could, and so you might let him know if we are to remain on terms.<sup>26</sup>

Swinburne's reiteration of the unimportance of this matter is belied by the extent to which

26 || 226–27 (Feb 1873). Deleted passages are given in italics within square brackets

he goes to demonstrate that he was *not* concerned. The "school list," as Swinburne calls it, does not seem to have survived, but he describes it to Howell in a subsequent letter:

- 1) Charlie on the whipping-block;  
     Algie holds his shirt up; Dr. Birch giving the first cut with a fresh rod on Charlie's bottom.
- 2) Algie hosed on Charlie's back for his first flogging—his bottom covered with blood;
- 3) Study of Algie's bottom before flogging and after;
- 4) Small boys watching their big brother whipped;—and such like (II 228: Feb 9 1873)

Swinburne's fears of the effect of the circulation of such material are understandable, but the grounds of those fears are unclear. Professor Lang (I xlvii) goes so far as to say that Hotten was virtually blackmailing Swinburne, but where is the proof of this? Would Swinburne have offered to contribute to a new *Romance of the Rod* to be published by his would-be blackmailer? Hotten's letter books show not the remotest awareness of any reason for Swinburne's animosity other than disputed royalty figures. If Hotten had a secret, powerful hold over Swinburne, Hotten himself seems to have been unaware of it.

The explanation seems to lie not in Hotten's actions but in Swinburne's imagination. Hotten had become part of a past life he was increasingly anxious to disown. Another such figure, in a situation fraught with ironies, was Howell himself. By October 15 1879 (IV 107) we find the former go-between and confidant described as "habitually amusing mixed companies of total strangers by obscene false anecdotes about my private eccentricities of innocent indulgence as exhibited in real or imaginary *lupanaria*." At The Pines, protected by Watts-Dunton, Swinburne had, to use Hotten's earlier phrase, rubbed off his dirt. The whitewashing continued even after his death. Edmund Gosse, to whom the letter about Howell was addressed, omitted "the moral irregularities of the poet" from his *Life of Algernon Charles Swinburne* (1917) because "the opposition of the family was intense, and there was a sort of conspiracy that Algernon should be presented to posterity as a guileless and featureless model of respectability" (VI 234, 236-37). Thus the real reasons for Swinburne's reaction against Hotten were glossed over, while his vituperation of Hotten remained, reinforcing the idea of Hotten as a shady character, culpable in his dealings with Swinburne as in his other activities.

As we have seen, there is some element of truth in some of the charges against Hotten, but for the most part these have been vastly exaggerated; and what remains must be weighed against his positive accomplishments as a publisher. Among these, the projects related to William Blake have a special claim to our interest. These are three in number (with, as we shall see, a fourth, unrealized one being even more ambitious): the Swinburne *William*

*Blake*, the facsimile of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, and an edition of Blair's *Grave* (with new pulls from the original plates). Swinburne's critical essay was the first of these to be published. Although Hotten had no role in the conception of this book—it was originally to be published by Moxon's and was in proof in 1866 when it was transferred to Hotten<sup>27</sup>—he did make one invaluable contribution to it: the idea of the facsimile illustrations, which included the first color plates of Blake's works ever to be published subsequent to the originals.

There is nothing to indicate that reproductions were to be included in the Moxon edition. We find references to these in the Swinburne correspondence only after Hotten took over the book in September 1866.<sup>28</sup> The first mention of plates, in Swinburne's letter to Hotten dated November 6 1866 (1 107) makes it clear that this was a new subject:

As to the plates I think it might be worth while for me to come up to London for a day on purpose to see about the matter. I would arrange if convenient to meet Mr. Rossetti and Mr. Howell at your shop and thence we might go over the British Museum collection. One or two of the plates to his "Jerusalem" would do well; but the field of choice is so wide that I should like to have the help and advice of friends. If we can arrange a day which will suit them I will try to be there at the right hour. I suppose you will see them before long, and be able to find out and let me hear.

On November 12 Swinburne writes to W. M. Rossetti: "With regard to this book I wish, as Hotten may have told you, to come up and consult with you on any day you may be able to spare me a part of, that we may select at the Museum what designs we please: two or three I presume will suffice" (1 212). As the book was published with eight plates (nine if we include the composite title page), five of which are presumably after British Museum originals, we see that Swinburne still did not have much idea of what would be involved. The trip to the Museum was not made until early the next year: on January 16 1867, Rossetti's diary notes, he "accompanied Swinburne in looking out, at the British Museum Print-Room, such Blake designs as might be adapted for re-production in his book. Obtained a formal ticket of admission to Print-Room. . . ."<sup>29</sup> The plates eventually chosen were reproduced and bound into the Swinburne volume at the appropriate points in the text, with the exception of *Jerusalem* 70, which serves as the frontispiece.

To what extent was the marriage of Swinburne's critical text and the facsimile reproductions a successful one? At first glance, it seems the two should have complemented each

27 See Swinburne's letter to William Michael Rossetti, Oct 9 1866, *Swinburne Letters* 1 198.

28 Swinburne accepts Hotten's terms for the publication of this and other books in a letter dated Septem-

ber 4 1866 (1 181). For *William Blake* he is to receive one-fourth of the published price of 1000 copies.

29 William Michael Rossetti *Rossetti Papers* (NY: Dodd, Mead 1903) 221.



other perfectly, for Swinburne was very much aware of the importance of Blake's designs. At times he seems to have had a prophetic intuition of what we now call "composite art":

The supreme merits as well as the more noticeable qualities merely special are best seen in his mixed work. Where both text and design are wholly his own, and the two forms or sides of his art so coalesce or overlap as to become inextricably interfused, we have the best chance of seeing and judging what the workman essentially was.<sup>30</sup>

In discussing the *Songs*, Swinburne praises Rossetti's editing but goes on to say:

Here by hard necessity we miss the lovely and luminous setting of the designs, which makes the *Songs* precious and pleasurable to those who know or care for little else of the master's doing; the infinite delight of those drawings, sweeter to see than music to hear, where herb and stem break into grace of shape and blossom of form, and the branch-work is full of little flames and flowers, catching as it were from the verse enclosed the fragrant heat and delicate sound they seem to give back. . . . (113)

Yet, after this peroration, we are surprised to read that "nevertheless this decorative work is after all the mere husk and shell of the *Songs*" (113-14), and after this we hear nothing further about the inextricable interfusion of text and design. Swinburne's actual view is that the pictures are "framework" to the *Songs*, containers from which the things contained can be removed. As for the other illuminated works, "these books are not each a set of designs with a text made by order to match, but are each a poem composed for its own sake and with its own aim, having illustrations arranged by way of frame or appended by way of ornament" (186). Swinburne even implies that there is nothing further to be said about Blake's designs after the Gilchrist *Life*, as "all the criticism included as to the illustrative parts merely is final and faultless, nothing missed and nothing wrong; this could not have been otherwise, the work having fallen under hands and eyes of practical taste and trained to actual knowledge, and the assertions therefore being issued by authority" (186).

Despite his disclaimer, however, Swinburne does have views on the illustrative parts. In his discussion of *Thel*, for example, he compares "any average copy" with "the smaller volume of designs now in the British Museum, which reproduces among others the main illustrations of his work,"<sup>31</sup> very much to the advantage of the latter. Swinburne seems completely unaware that in contrasting "the sweet, pallid colour of the fainter version" to "the splendour of the more finished work," he is contrasting water color to color printing, and in general he is indifferent to the media in which Blake worked. He is almost equally in-

<sup>30</sup> William Blake 108.

<sup>31</sup> This is the work now known as *A Small Book of*

*Designs*; it includes four of the eight *Thel* plates without text.

different to Blake's iconography. His method is elevated description, a fair example of which are these remarks on the designs for *Jerusalem*:

Flowers sprung of earth and lit from heaven, with chalices of floral fire and with flower-like women or men growing up out of their centre; fair large forms full of labour or of rest; sudden starry strands and reaches of breathless heaven washed by drifts of rapid wind and cloud; serrated array of iron rocks and glorious growth of weedy lands or flowering fields; reflected light of bows bent and arrows drawn in heaven, dividing cloud from starlit cloud; stately shapes of infinite sorrow or exuberant joy; all beautiful things and all things terrible, all changes of shadow and of light, all mysteries of the darkness and the day, find place and likeness here: deep waters made glad and sad with heavy light that comes and goes; vast expansion of star-shaped blossom and swift aspiration of laborious flame; strong and sweet figures made subject to strange torture in dim lands of bondage; mystic emblems of plumeless bird and semi-human beast; women like the daughters of giants, with immense shapeliness and vigour of lithe large limbs, clothed about with anguish and crowned upon with triumph; their deep bosoms pressed against the scales of strong dragons, their bodies and faces strained together in the delight of monstrous caresses; similitudes of all between angel and reptile that divide illimitable spaces of air or defile the overlaboured furrows upon earth. (293-94)

Swinburne gives the reader a cinematic montage of impressions, but very seldom does he venture into interpretation of pictures. An exception is his idea that in *The Song of Los* plate 5 (often known, though without Blake's authority, as "Oberon and Titania") is related sequentially to plate 4:

The design of Har and Heva flying from their lustful and warlike brethren across green waste land before a late and thunder-coloured sky, he grasping her with convulsive fear, she looking back as she runs with lifted arm and flame-like hair and fiery flow of raiment; and that succeeding where they reappear fallen to mere king and queen of the vegetable world, themselves half things of vegetable life; are both noble if somewhat vehement and reckless. In this latter, the deep green-blue heaven full of stars like flowers is set with sweet and deep effect against the darkening green of the vast lily-leaves supporting the fiery pallor of those shapely chalices which enclose as the heart of either blossom the queen lying at her length, and the king sitting with bright plucked-out pistil in hand by way of sceptre or sword; and below them the dim walls of the world alone are wholly black: his robes of soft shot purple and red, her long chrysalid shell or husk of tarnished gold, are but signs of their bondage and fall from deity; they are fallen to be mere flowers. (257-58)

This suggestion that "Oberon and Titania" are the fallen forms of the Har and Heva of the preceding plate, whether or not one agrees with it, is inventive; it shows that Swinburne was capable of more than the impressionistic criticism to which he largely confined himself.

When we examine the facsimile reproductions in *William Blake*, we find that—with one exception—Swinburne's prose has nothing to do with them. The plates occur just where

one would expect to find them discussed, but there is no discussion forthcoming. Of course the reason for this must be the one we have suggested: that the book was written without the plates in mind. This is most striking with respect to *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. Three plates are reproduced, and yet here is Swinburne's discussion, in its entirety, of the visual aspect of *The Marriage*:

The decorations of this great work, though less large and complete than those of the subsequent prophecies, are full of noble and subtle beauty. On every page faint fibres and flickering threads of colour weave an intricate design. Skies cloven with flame and thunder, half-blasted trees round which huddled forms of women or men cower and cling, strange beasts and splendid flowers, alternate with the engraved text; and throughout all the sunbeams of heaven shed fiercer or softer light. (226-27)

Again: the title page of *Thel* is bound opposite Swinburne's exposition of this work, yet there is no discussion of the design beyond the color comparison already mentioned. A page from *Milton* (plate 8<sup>32</sup>) precedes Swinburne's remarks on that poem, but this plate is not discussed; the pictures Swinburne does comment on, plates 38 and 24, are not reproduced. Of the facsimile illustrations, only the frontispiece, plate 70 of *Jerusalem*, is the subject of anything like interpretation: "Spires of serpentine cloud are seen before a strong wind below a crescent moon; Druid pillars enclose as with a frame this stormy division of sky; outside them again the vapour twists and thickens; and men standing on desolate broken ground look heavenward or earthward between the pillars" (293). This sentence and the color comparison about *Thel* constitute the entire relationship of illustration to criticism in *William Blake*. Clearly the pictures were chosen primarily for their aesthetic value and ingeniously inserted into the volume so that the reader was scarcely aware that they were not for the most part the subject of interpretation.

Hotten had, for the first time, put color reproductions of Blake's plates into the hands of readers who had never seen an original illuminated book.<sup>32a</sup> Some contemporaries appreci-

32. In giving plate numbers I follow Geoffrey Keynes and Edwin Wolf II *William Blake's Illuminated Books: a Census* (NY: Grolier Club 1953); for *Milton* these coincide with the numbers in the British Museum copy (A).

32a. A considerable sampling of Blake's illuminated pages had been published in the 1863 edition of the *Gilchrist Life*, the title page of which announced it to be "Illustrated from Blake's own works, in facsimile by W. J. Linton, and in photolithography; with a few of Blake's original plates." The photolithography was

used, quite successfully, for twenty-one plates of Blake's *Illustrations of the Book of Job*; the "few of Blake's original plates" were sixteen pages of *Songs* printed from electrotypes of Blake's own plates. The facsimile drawings by W. J. Linton consisted chiefly of numerous sketches of details, used as ornaments, but also of four full plates: *America* 5, *Europe* 12, and *Jerusalem* 35 and 76, all somewhat reduced and with the text hand-lettered in a style not very much like Blake's

ated the significance of this: three of the nine reviews of *William Blake* published in 1868 praise the illustrations, and one goes so far as to say, "the only proper way to study these 'Prophecies' is in the original copies, where Blake's flowingly-engraved words are aided by his wondrously fanciful and suggestive designs. Separated from these designs, the letter-press loses more than half its fervency and strength."<sup>33</sup> Shortly after the appearance of *William Blake*, Hotten would issue his facsimile of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* as part of an ambitious plan to publish all the illuminated works. What led Hotten to conceive these projects, so anticipatory of later developments in the study of Blake? There were three factors, each indispensable. First, since Hotten's lists show no interest in Blake before Swinburne's critical essay, we must assume that the publisher became interested in Blake through Swinburne. Hotten was, however, already well established as a publisher of facsimiles. Some of these were popularly priced while others were lavish productions. In 1860, for example, Hotten advertised a facsimile of the Magna Carta "copied by express permission and the only correct drawing of the Great Charter ever taken," priced at 5s. In the press at the same time was *The History of Playing Cards*, "illustrated with forty curious woodcuts on tinted paper." He also published *Signboards: Their History*, of which he was co-author with "Jacob Larwood," which included "nearly 100 most curious illustrations on wood"; Thomas Wright's *Caricature History of the Georges* "with 400 Pictures, Caricatures, Squibs, Window Pictures"; and the richly illustrated *Puck on Pegasus*, with designs by Cruikshank, Millais, "Phiz," and Tenniel among others.<sup>34</sup> It was, then, almost inevitable that Hotten should think of publishing facsimiles of Blake's works once his interest had been stirred by Swinburne's book, especially when we consider a third factor: in Hotten's employ was an artist almost anonymous today but regarded in his own time as the best facsimilist in the trade.

The Hotten facsimile of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* is so fine in its outlines that even today it can help us to understand the details in some of the plates.<sup>35</sup> The same artisan was responsible for the illustrations to *William Blake*, as a comparison of the three *Marriage* plates in the latter with the corresponding ones in the facsimile will show: though the color-

33 *The Broadway* 1 (1868) 727. On contemporary reviews of *William Blake*, see Morton D. Paley "The Critical Reception of *A Critical Essay*" in the special issue of the *Blake Newsletter*, *Blake Among Victorians*, nos. 29-30 (1974) 32-37.

34 "John Camden Hotten's List" appended to Hotten *A Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant, and Vulgar*

*Words* 2nd ed (London: Hotten 1860) 298-99.

35 See David V. Erdman, with Tom Dargan and Marlene Deverell-Van Meter "Reading the Illuminations of Blake's *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*" in *William Blake: Essays in Honour of Sir Geoffrey Keynes* eds M. D. Paley and M. Phillips (Oxford: Clarendon 1973) 164, 185, 187.

ing sometimes varies, the printed images are the same. In a headnote to *William Blake* ("List of Illustrations," unpagged), the artist is praised but not identified.

In justice to the fac-similist who has so faithfully copied the following designs from Blake's works, the publisher would state they were made under somewhat difficult circumstances, the British Museum authorities not permitting tracing from the copies in their possession. In every case the exact peculiarities of the originals have been preserved. The colouring has been done by hand from the designs, tinted by the artist, and the three illustrations from "Jerusalem" have been reduced from the original in folio to octavo. The paper on which the facsimiles are given has been expressly made to resemble that used by Blake.

Were it not for H. Spencer Ashbee, the identity of this faithful facsimilist might remain forever unknown. However, in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (p 11) he is identified as Henry James [*sic*] Bellars, a native of Chester who came to London ca 1862 and died "about 1868 or 69, at perhaps 40 years of age, in great poverty, leaving a widow and several small children." Bellars seems to have lived in great obscurity, so much so that even Ashbee is unsure of the date of his death and records his middle name incorrectly—it was John. No obituaries have been found in the London or Chester periodical press, no will is recorded at Somerset House, he received little credit for his work. He is, however, included in Frederic Boase's *Modern English Biography* (Truro 1892) 1233: "b. Chester; a schoolmaster; sec. and curator of Chester Natural History Society; photographic artist in London 1862 to death; the best facsimilist in England; author of *Illustrated catalogue of British land and freshwater shells* 1858; *The historical numismatic atlas of the Roman emperors*. d. Bedford court, Covent Garden 22 June 1868 aged 44." "He was," says Ashbee, "one of the most industrious of men, and perhaps the best facsimilist that ever lived." Ashbee says that Bellars also worked for the publisher Ellis and did many facsimiles of Shakespeare quartos for Halliwell. Among his works for Hotten, Ashbee specifies *Panier aux Ordures*, *Joe Miller's Jests*, *Early newspaper relating to the Russian Invasion of Poland*, *Columbus's Letter on the Discovery of America*, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, and *Reynolds' Display of Welsh Coat Armours*.<sup>36</sup> Bellars must therefore be the facsimilist to whom Hotten refers in a letter to Sir Thomas Phillipps dated February 16 1862: "I have to beg your acceptance of a very cleverly executed facsimile of *Reynolds Heraldry of North Wales*, a *unique book*. . . . The owner . . . was obliging enough to lend it to me for a fortnight and I got my facsimilist to put forth his very best efforts in producing a copy." Phillipps was impressed: "I think it is impossible to have done it by hand with a pen," he wrote, and there ensued a correspondence

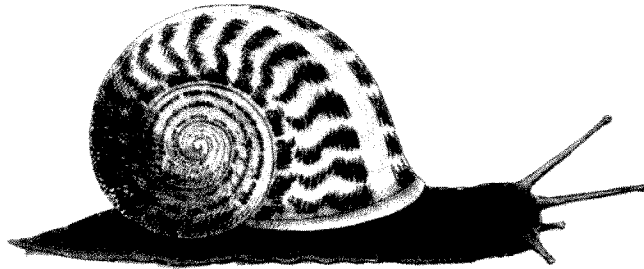
36 Ashbee *Index* 11-12.

Price 3/-

ILLUSTRATED  
OF  
BRITISH

LAND AND FRESHWATER

SHELLS



[*Helix aspersa*].

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BY HENRY J. BELLARS,

HONORARY SECRETARY AND CURATOR OF THE CHESTER NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

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CHESTER:

PUBLISHED BY MINSHULL AND HUGHES,

Eastgate Street Row,

1858.

summarized by Dr A. N. L. Munby in his *Phillipps Studies*. Hotten wrote that his "little man, who does the facsimile work" was content to earn 5s. a day and was prepared to work at home at night, thus giving Hotten an advantage over those whose copyists worked only in the British Museum. "I know we are at at least ONE THIRD the price charged by Harris, Dangerfield, Nethercliff, and the other British Museum experts."<sup>37</sup> These letters show the least attractive aspect of Hotten and make it easy for us to see why he acquired a reputation as a sharp dealer as well as why Bellars died in poverty and obscurity. It also shows something of the respect Bellars commanded in his profession, justifying the tributes of Boase and Ashbee.

Bellars, as Boase tells us, was born in Chester, where he was for a time active as a natural historian. He was Honorary Secretary and Curator of the Chester Natural History Society, which first met in Pepper Street in April 1858 and continued to meet in 1859, after which it seems to have gone out of existence.<sup>38</sup> In his *Illustrated Catalogue of British Land and Fresh-water Shells* (1858) there is an advertisement announcing that Mr Bellars will "execute Lithographic Ink or Crayon Drawings—engrave Cameos in the Greek or Roman style—sell, decipher, and chronologically arrange ancient coins—and supply Artists' Water-colours, at reduced prices." In addition Bellars informs the public that he will continue to preserve "Birds and other specimens illustrative of the various departments of Natural History," and he offers for sale "sets of the beautiful fossil shells, fruits, &c., from the principal geological formations, as the Barton Beds, Craggs, Oolites, &c., &c. . . ." The *Illustrated Catalogue* is a beautiful little relic of this phase of Bellars' career. Its combination of text and design (see fig 1),<sup>39</sup> prefigures the meticulous work he would do on *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* ten years later. There is everything to bear out Ashbee's view of Bellars: "His work was invariably good—genuine, truthful, reliable—and it is strange that with so much industry and such real talent he should not have made his mark. Although his death occurred but six or seven years ago he is already forgotten, but many are yet living who must have known him personally, and it is to be hoped that his memory may yet be rescued from oblivion."

37 A. N. L. Munby *Phillipps Studies* (London: Cambridge Univ Press 1971) IV 70–71. In this correspondence Hotten mentions that the copy of Reynolds he offers Phillipps "is on *especiall old paper*, different from the two or three other copies successfully completed." "A 12<sup>mo</sup> title page," he boasted, "easy, I can do for 7s. 6d. and defy detection as to whether it is not the original."

38 See J. D. Siddall *The Formation of the Chester Society of Natural Science, Literature, and Art* (Chester: Published by the Society 1911) 6–7.

39 Bellars' accuracy in descriptions and figures is vouched for by Charles Oldham "Land and Freshwater Mollusca of Cheshire" *Naturalist* no. 249 (Apr 1896) 109–28, although there are, as one would expect, some corrections in this later work.



Fig 2. Ornamental title page of Swinburne's *William Blake* (1868). The five figures in the left-hand border are copied from *Jerusalem* 5; the eight along the top and down the right side from *Jerusalem* 19, as are the two figures in bottom center; the lower three on the right side from *Jerusalem* 43 [29]. The ornamental lettering is imitated from the title pages of *Thel* and *The Marriage*; the birds and small human figures in the central area are from the same. —  
Rare Book Division

In finding Bellars for his Blake facsimile reproductions, Hotten was extremely fortunate, for Bellars was a draftsman and photographer as well as an experienced lithographer. Nine plates were made for Swinburne's *William Blake*, seven of them in color. The frontispiece reproduces *Jerusalem* 70.<sup>40</sup> The title page plate (fig 2) preceding the type-set title page imitates the style of Blake's etched title pages; details are incorporated from several plates of *Jerusalem*, from *The Marriage*, and from *Thel*. There follow the title page of *Thel* (fig 4), and then three plates from *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*: the title page, plate 8 ("se-

<sup>40</sup> This plate is colored, but the color scheme must be fanciful, as the British Museum copy is of course un-

colored, and Blake's colors in the Mellon copy are quite different.



lected to show the artist's peculiar method of blending text with minute design"<sup>41</sup>), and plate 20. (Since the British Museum owned—and owns—no copy of *The Marriage*, these plates had to be copied from a volume in private hands.) Next comes *Milton* 8 and last the two black-and-white plates from *Jerusalem*—81 (fig 7) and 33 [37]. It is clear from Hotten's records that these plates were produced outside the print shop and that the production of the plates lagged behind the printing of the text. There are two memoranda listing "Blake Plates Wanted" from the printer, W. Bone and Son, dated January 22 1866 and December 19 1867. There are no other references to illustrations in this part of Hotten's records, but later there appear several references to "Miss Bellars" (ledger 2, page 155). An entry dated September 8 1875 notes under "Binder—Ordered": "Miss Bellars col<sup>d</sup> plates"; for June 17 1876[?] "120[?] wanting some plates; Miss Bellars to colour all we have." A separate entry for "Plates" lower on the page gives the following information:

|                    |                     |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| Dec. 2/ 76 30 sets | Miss Bellars colour |
| April 16/ 77 50    | do do               |
| Sept. 30/79 108    | do do               |

Perhaps Miss Bellars was a daughter of the artist's, but in any event the records show that a member of Bellars' family continued coloring plates for *William Blake* into the late 1870s. These must have been inserted into copies bearing the "Second Edition" title page which Hotten had had printed in 1868, for no edition was dated later than 1868 until 1906.

Evidently the preparation of the *William Blake* illustrations gave Hotten the idea for a facsimile edition of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. On page 258 of Hotten's Ledger 1, under the rubric "Blakes Heaven & Hell Facsimile," we find an entry dated April 1 1868[?]: "Stock in the hands of Miss Bellars"; for November 26 we find "color remaining 175 copies." The total number of copies is not recorded. Only 150 or 153 are accounted for under "Distribution of Stock," the odd three probably being proof copies. The record ends on July 14 1873, not long after Hotten's death; at least part of the stock was acquired by J. W. Bouton. There has been some speculation as to which copy of *The Marriage* was used for this facsimile, but the variety of detail in the nine extant Blake originals is such that the possibilities can be narrowed to copies E and F. Sir Geoffrey Keynes says in his pioneering *Bibliography* (for which he had to rely on correspondents for descriptions of several copies of this work): "The original, from which this facsimile was made, was lent by D. G. Rossetti to Swinburne, by whom it was passed on to Camden Hotten, but I have not been able to

41 "List of Illustrations."

identify the copy; possibly it was copy B<sup>42</sup>—i.e., *Census* copy E, now in the Keynes collection. Both internal and external evidence, however, make it clear that it was the similar but distinguishably different copy F that Bellars used. According to a sales catalogue excerpt in a copy of the facsimile in the collection of Robert N. Essick, this is “one of a few copies produced in facsimile by an artist since deceased, from the UNIQUE ORIGINAL in the possession of Lord Houghton. . . .” Originally owned by Thomas Butts, copy F had been acquired in 1852 by Richard Monckton Milnes, first Lord Houghton—who had wanted to publish Blake poems as early as 1838. It is now in the collection of Mrs Landon K. Thorne and on deposit in the Pierpont Morgan Library.

The making of the facsimile plates probably involved the use of photography in addition to drawing and calligraphy on Bellars’ part.<sup>43</sup> By June 1867 Rossetti understood Hotten to be planning “photographic” facsimiles (see below); Bellars, we have seen, was among other things a “photographic artist”; and it is likely that a photographic process was used to form the base of the final transfer of text and design to the lithographic plate. It is usually in the smaller details, such as the lettering of the words and the tiny figures, that Bellars’ copying is most exact, while in the larger elements of the designs he will depart from the precision that either tracing or photography could have supplied. For example, it has been pointed out that the facsimilist made one error in copying plate II: in copy F “the right leg of the mermaid is crossed over instead of under her left leg and revealed as a mermaid’s tail,” but the facsimilist “turned the picture of the two kinds of legs into a traditional, rattletrap mermaid, human above the water and fish or dolphin below.”<sup>44</sup> At the same time, it is other details in this very plate which enable us to be sure that copy F is indeed Bellars’ source.<sup>45</sup> Heavy re-tracing by Blake of the lettering of the text in copy H, often with different colors for succes-

42 Keynes *A Bibliography of William Blake* (NY: Grolier Club 1921) 293; *Census* 37–38.

43 David Erdman reports that when photographs of pages of copy F and of the Hotten facsimile are superimposed on a light-table, the exact correspondence throughout in the lettering of the text and in most lines of detail seems such as to have required either incredibly accurate direct tracing or some photographic process, certainly that free copying without tracing should be ruled out as a possibility. Bellars did retouch the lettering but must have had such a base to be able to preserve the precise location and shape of each dot, loop, flourish, and serif and to prevent the slightest shift in alinement throughout each page. Nor is there

any reason to doubt that Lord Houghton’s copy was made available to him to apply whatever harmless processes he had at his command. His own lithographic calligraphy, shown in figure 1, looks in the smaller sizes almost rough and ready by comparison. In the larger details of the facsimile, where perhaps the facsimilist’s sense of what things ought to look like—bodies and trees, for example—came into play, his departures from the basic traced or photographic outline are evident.

44 Erdman *et al* “Reading the Illuminations” 185.

45 The top section of the Hotten plate is reproduced beside the same section of copy I, in “Reading the Illuminations” 184.

sive words, is in effect a large-scale variant; it clearly eliminates that copy from having been the prototype. In two copies the upper scene is viewed through the mouth of a cave, and as this is not the case in the facsimile, copies G and I may be eliminated.<sup>46</sup> Close to the center of the design is an object which appears variously as a tree trunk, a waterspout, or a large plant; and in this object may be seen, with varying degrees of clarity, a bearded face. The facsimile makes this object a plant with three drooping fronds at the top. This is the case in copies F, G, H, and I, of which we have eliminated G, H, and I.<sup>47</sup>

Lord Houghton's copy of *The Marriage* was originally used for purposes connected with Swinburne's *Critical Essay*. On November 4 1866 Swinburne (*Letters* 1 206) wrote to Hotten:

I see you advertise my "Blake" as forthcoming, and I wish it were out. As far as the text goes, the one thing wanting is a full transcript of "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell" from which I quote at some length. I once transcribed Lord Houghton's copy, but my transcript was lost or stolen: and I have neither time nor patience to resume the task. Could not some trustworthy person be found to do the job?

Swinburne wrote to Hotten again on November 9 (1 211): "Moxon has the whole of Blake in second or third proofs as you will see by his accounts. The whole of Blake's 'Marriage of Heaven and Hell' must be transcribed. The only copy I know is Lord Houghton's." By December 21 the problem had been solved. Swinburne wrote to Lord Houghton on that date (1 281): "You will receive, if it has not arrived before this note, in a day or two a copy of my 'Blake,' which but for you could not have been what it now is, a tolerably adequate and complete monograph." The availability of the Houghton copy led to its use by Hotten for his first facsimile of an illuminated book—this and the fact that *The Marriage* was Blake's best known single work apart from the *Songs* and had been described by Swinburne as "a work indeed which we rank as about the greatest produced by the eighteenth century in the line of high poetry and spiritual speculation."<sup>48</sup> It also had a "forbidden" aura that would have attracted Hotten.

There appeared only one known review of the 1868 facsimile, and as this has not been noticed by Blake scholars before, it may be worth commenting on now. It comes from an interesting source: Charles Eliot Norton, who later produced an edition of the *Illustrations of the Book of Job* (Boston 1875) with an interesting commentary, and who also became the owner of some of the "Hotten forgeries." Writing in the *North American Review* for April

<sup>46</sup> See "Reading the Illuminations" 185.

Grant (Princeton Univ Press 1970) fig 19.

<sup>47</sup> Plate 11 of copy E is reproduced in *Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic* eds D. V. Erdman and J. E.

<sup>48</sup> *William Blake* 208.

1869 (108: 641–42), Norton dismisses “Mr. Swinburne’s wordy and pretentious volume” as having “no value except that which it derives from the extracts it contains from some of Blake’s unpublished writings, and the facsimiles with which it is illustrated of a few of his designs in colors.” After reviewing Richard Herne Shepherd’s editions of *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* and *Poetical Sketches*, both published by Pickering in 1868, Norton goes on to say: “A much more important publication than these two little volumes of reprinted poems as exhibiting Blake’s genius in one of its most peculiar forms, and as supplying illustrations of it not elsewhere to be found, is the fac-simile of his ‘Marriage of Heaven and Hell,’ of which a few copies were lately issued.” He then states the importance of having *The Marriage* available in this form:

Very few copies exist of the original edition of this extraordinary work. The fac-simile, which is admirably executed, was made from a fine copy in the possession of Lord Houghton. Its pages are engraved, and both illuminated and illustrated, with designs in color, which are highly finished by hand, in imitation of the original drawing. Every page is illuminated so richly, and with such variety of delicate detail, that even the engraved letterpress seems as if done by hand. In addition to this illumination, there are, in the space of the twenty-seven pages, thirteen large designs,—that on the title-page occupying the whole page, the others filling half or a third of the page. The subjects of most of these designs have only a remote and obscure relation to the text; but in themselves, though by no means equalling in power or depth of conception Blake’s finest work, such as his “Job,” they display great vividness of fancy, and show his wild and mystical imagination in full play. From the fac-simile a just impression can be gained, by those to whom the originals are not accessible, not only of one of Blake’s most characteristic modes of work, but also of the style of his drawing, the method of his coloring, and the exercise of his fancy in its more mystical moods.<sup>49</sup>

Norton also seems to have had some direct information about the production of the fac-simile, for he comments, “we regret to learn that the artist by whom the hand-work in the facsimile was executed has lately died,” something he can hardly have learned otherwise. He closes with the correct prediction that the volume must soon become rare and pronounces it “a delightful and indispensable supplement to the volumes of his Life and Writings” (646).

Hotten’s last Blake project to be completed was a re-publication of Blair’s *Grave* with new pulls made from Schiavonetti’s copper plates, the Spanish titles added for De Mora’s *Meditaciones* of 1823 being removed and the English titles re-supplied. A full account of the printing of the plates for *The Grave* has been given elsewhere<sup>50</sup>; here we need only remark

49 Note that this reconfirms copy F as the source. Norton is of course not correct in applying the word “engraving” either to Blake’s original method (relief etching) or to Bellars’ (lithography).

50 R. N. Essick and M. D. Paley “The Printings of Blake’s Designs to Blair’s *Grave*” forthcoming in *The Book Collector* 1975.

that Hotten's records for this publication may be found in his ledger 1, page 3 headed "Blair's Grave with Blake's Plates," with the notation "Coppers at / Oct. 70 Preston." The ledger entry is terminated in a later hand: "Sold Bouton." In Bouton's unnumbered sale catalogue dated December 1876, *The Grave* is priced at ten dollars. This alone should remove any suspicion of forgery caused by Hotten's failure to identify his edition of *The Grave*. The facsimile of *The Marriage* bears no identification as such; nor does Pearson's facsimile of *Jerusalem* (1877). Besides, for this edition type was set anew and no attempt

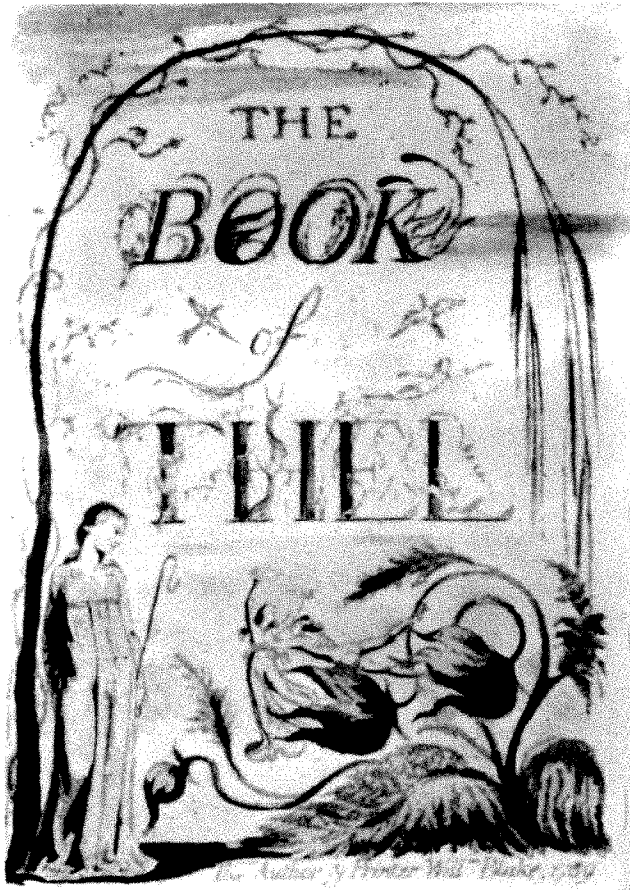


Fig 3. Blake's *The Book of Thel*, copy A, title page—British Museum

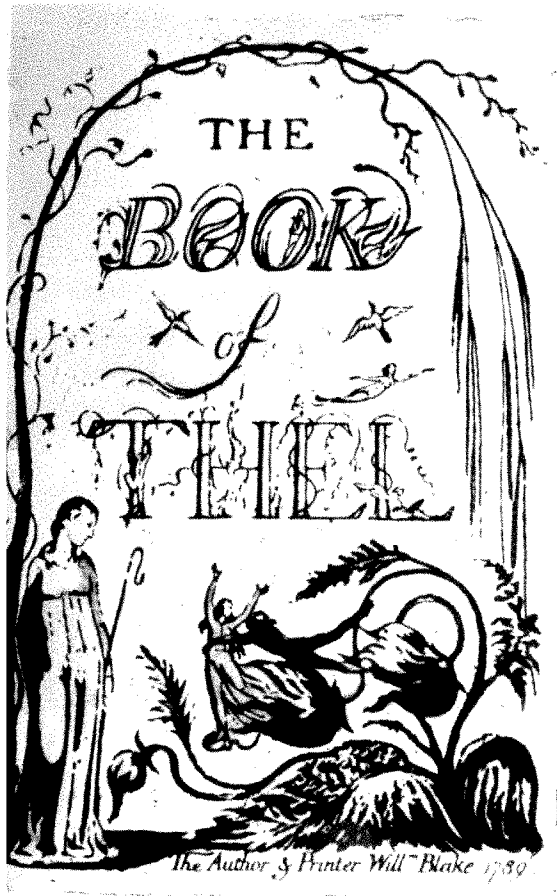
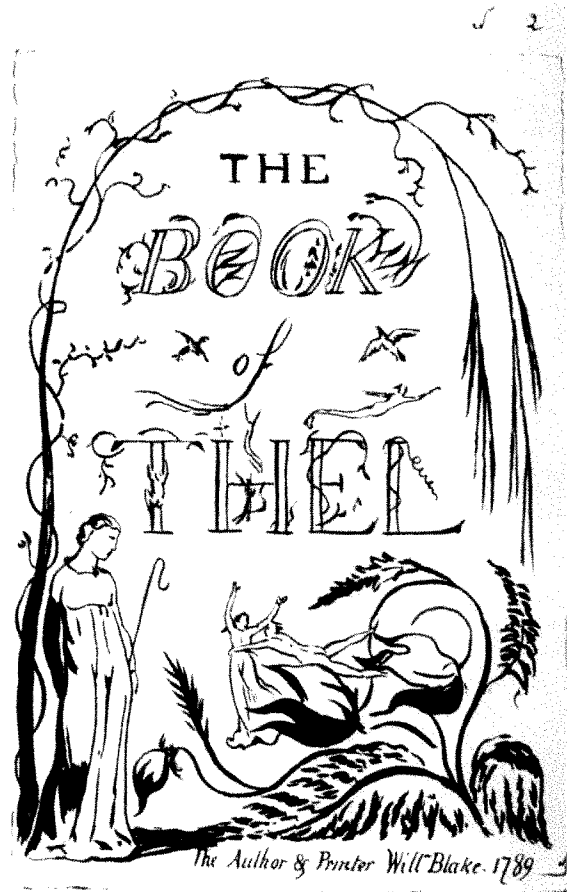


Fig 4. Bellars' facsimile of the *Thel* title page, facing page 200 in Swinburne's *William Blake*—Prints Division

Fig 5. Facsimile of *Thel* title page in *Works of William Blake* (1876), artist unknown—Prints Division



was made to match the type or paper of the 1813 *Grave*, the paper of the 1870 edition being distinctly machine-made.

Hotten had not intended to end his Blake projects with *The Grave*. On the contrary, he had envisaged the facsimile of *The Marriage* as only the beginning of a much more ambitious project. With characteristic energy and ambition, he had decided to issue a facsimile edition of all Blake's illuminated works. On March 28 1868 Swinburne wrote to Seymour Kirkup (1294): "Hotten—the publisher of my book—intends to 'issue' copies done by hand of Blake's mystic works from the first to the last. I of course encourage him in this enterprise, though I doubt if it will pay in this 'ultima [Thule?]' of damp, snow, rain, hail and all that Dante found in this nethermost hell, *i.e.*, in England." Hotten advertised his scheme as follows:

Original Editions of Blake's Works.

Notice.—Mr. Hotten has in preparation a few facsimile copies (exact as to paper, printing—the water-colour drawings being filled in by an artist) of the ORIGINAL EDITIONS of the books written and illustrated by William Blake. As it is only intended to produce—with utmost care—a few examples of each work, Mr. Hotten will be glad to hear from any gentleman who may desire to secure copies of these wonderful books. The first volume, "MARRIAGE OF HEAVEN AND HELL," 4to, to be ready by Jan. 15, 1868.<sup>51</sup>

Virtually the same wording is used in Hotten's list of "Very Important New Books" for 1868, except that the first volume "is now being issued," priced at 30s., half morocco. As far as we know, however, no further facsimiles of Blake's illuminated books were published by Hotten. W. M. Rossetti did note on June 3 1867 "Hotten tells me that he has undertaken to bring out a photographic copy of Blake's *Jerusalem*, and I think of some of the other books—the edition to be limited to 100 copies,"<sup>52</sup> but when such an edition did appear in 1877 it was published by John Pearson; Hotten had been dead for four years.

It is easy to see why the facsimile project was discontinued after the unexpected death of Bellars in 1868. It would have been hard to find another facsimilist of his skill who would have worked at his prices. It is instructive to compare Bellars' work with that of the anonymous creator of the next Blake facsimile to be published: the *Works* of 1876. This uncolored lithographic facsimile contains *Songs of Innocence*, *Songs of Experience*, *Thel*, *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, *America*, *Europe*, and *The Song of Los*, but it is a clumsy job, of no interest in its own right. We can best compare the work of the two facsimilists by exam-

<sup>51</sup> Sale catalogue excerpt in Essick copy of Hotten's *Marriage* facsimile.

<sup>52</sup> *Rossetti Papers* 234.

ining the one plate which both reproduced—the title page of *Thel*. Bellars' plate is not faultless: he missed the two tiny female figures disporting in the *H* of *THEL*, rendering only a suggestion of one and almost nothing of the other. But on the whole his copy is a good one, even including some of the configured dots scattered about the page. The *Works* counterpart is both sloppy and insipid, untrue to the general effect of Blake's design as well as neglectful of detail. The winged figure sitting in the *L* of the title, well reproduced by Bellars, is missing entirely from the *Works* version (see figs 3, 4, 5).

When the 1876 *Works* was offered for sale in New York by J. W. Bouton at \$22.50 (Catalogue 56, ca 1881), Bouton was under the impression that the facsimile was "printed . . . in the original colors," but in his Catalogue 63 (ca 1885) this statement does not appear, in an otherwise virtually identical advertisement. It is interesting that Bouton's Catalogue 58 (ca 1882) prices the Pearson *Jerusalem* at \$12.00 despite the fact that this facsimile, also issued in an edition of 100 but uncolored, is of excellent quality.

We now come to the subject with which we began and for which, unfortunately, John Camden Hotten is still best known in the Blake world—the "forgeries." In the course of a hyperactive career as publisher, dealer, and collector, Hotten did not, as far as we can ascertain, claim possession of a single Blake original. Nor did any such originals appear in the posthumous sale of his collections. The range of the latter is astonishing. One part consisted of "upwards of fifteen thousand books and tracts illustrative of the topography of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales" (Puttick and Simpson, November 10 1873). Another catalogue lists as a single lot over six thousand tracts and pamphlets relating to the English Civil Wars (Puttick and Simpson, November 24 1873, no. 1746). Hotten's interest in the graphic arts is mirrored in his "Doré Gallery" comprising 250 engravings and in "Gems of French Art"—sixteen carbon photographs by William Bell Scott (Puttick and Simpson, December 13 1873, nos. 610 and 634)—among many such items. All we find of Blake is George Cumberland's *Thoughts on Outline*, where Blake is not even mentioned in the catalogue entry, and "Outline Compositions to Homer's *Odyssey* engraved by Piroli, Blake and others, 2 vols. in 1 folio 1805" (Puttick and Simpson, November 24 1873, nos. 507 and 809; actually, Blake engraved no plates for this 1805 edition, but the idea that he did is a common error still frequently encountered). Otherwise the name of Blake is absent, except in the title of Gilchrist's *Life*.

What, then, of the "forgeries"? It is true that the pictures later called forgeries began to appear in American collections in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Some of these were exhibited at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1880 and 1892, and the 1892 ex-



hibition catalogue establishes their connection with Hotten in a headnote to section vi, "Sketches," that reads in part:

The sketches included in this division were not known to Gilchrist, and such of them as are included in Rossetti's catalogue in Gilchrist's second edition, II, p. 277, are mentioned merely on the authority of the catalogue of the Blake Exhibition held at this Museum in 1880. They are reported to have been found in the cellar of John Camden Hotten, the publisher of Swinburne's "Blake" and of a reproduction of Blake's "Marriage of Heaven and Hell," after his death, and were sold in New York by J. W. Bouton. It is impossible to assign a date to any of them, or even to fix their status, whether as preliminary sketches, or memoranda, or copies made for some unknown purpose.<sup>53</sup>

This source is confirmed independently in the catalogue of the Charles Eliot Norton sale, American Art Association, May 2 1923. Item 15 is described as "probably BLAKE'S ORIGINAL SKETCH of this [lower] portion of the title-page of the 'Marriage of Heaven and Hell'." Professor Norton's daughter is quoted as saying "I found this advertisement regarding the 'Marriage of Heaven and Hell' and a note elsewhere showing that this was bought of J. W. Bouton, in July 1875, and that he had it from the publisher J. C. Hotten of London."<sup>54</sup> The entry goes on to say that the advertisement to which Miss Norton refers appears in a catalogue of J. W. Bouton, New York, 1875. The catalogue is no doubt Bouton's Catalogue 45, undated (as are almost all his catalogues) but its place in the catalogue series dates it ca 1875 or 1876. On page 32 we find the entry:

Drawings by William Blake

ORIGINAL DRAWINGS in Water Colors and India Ink by the celebrated William Blake (*Pictor Ignotus*). A SERIES of TWENTY of the MOST CHARACTERISTIC of the drawings of this remarkable artist, including some that have been published in the illustrations to BLAIR'S "GRAVE," "SONGS OF INNOCENCE," "AMERICA, A PROPHECY," "HEAVEN and HELL," &c., &c. In size about 9 × 12, carefully mounted on card-board. Price of the collection \$750.00, or if sold separately, \$50.00 each.

Bouton goes on to describe the drawings as follows:

These drawings would appear to have been executed in the interval between 1800 and 1825. They are all of a more finished character than the generality of Blake's Sketches (which were merely outlined in pencil or India ink, with occasional washes of color). Included in the collection are three sketches for the "AMERICA" (see pp. 112 and 113 of Gilchrist's *Life*); four sketches for Blair's "Grave," viz. "The Soul exploring the recesses of the Cave [sic];" "Reunion of the Soul and the

<sup>53</sup> *Exhibition of Books, Water Colors, Engravings, Etc. by William Blake*, Feb 7 to Mar 15 1891 (Boston Museum of Fine Arts) 17.

<sup>54</sup> *American and English "Men of Letters" . . . mainly from the Library of the Late Charles Eliot Nor-*

*ton of Boston Massachusetts* no 15. The sketch is reproduced. The embracing figures in the *Marriage* title page are redrawn and repositioned among redesigned flames and clouds, with a cloudy sky drawn in above and the usual dark patches of marginal background.

Body;" "The Skeleton re-animated;" and "Death's Door;" these were all beautifully engraved by Schiavonetti and published in the 4to Edition of *The Grave*, London, 1813.

After some quoted matter from Fuseli's preface to the *Grave* designs, Bouton concludes, "*the present offers an exceptional opportunity to Art-Schools, Museums, &c., to secure a series of drawings of this artist, that can scarcely be expected to occur again, in the course of a life time.*"

Here, then, is the provenance of the "forgeries." They were found in a chest of drawers in Hotten's cellar after his death. At least some of them were acquired by J. W. Bouton along with a considerable number of Hotten's books. Bouton offered the drawings for sale in New York ca 1875, perhaps believing they were genuine Blakes. Some were exhibited in Boston in 1880. Despite growing doubts as to their authenticity—one can see that a note of doubt had appeared by the time of the 1891 Boston exhibition—some were still being offered as Blakes by, among others, Rosenbach in 1916 and the American Art Association in 1923. Over the course of years they have become associated with the name of their original owner, who had nothing to do with their sale as Blakes, rather than with the names of these American dealers, who did.

Over the passage of a century, many pictures after Blake have been lumped together as "Camden Hotten forgeries." Among these are two drawings belonging to the Templeton Crocker estate, copied from "Famine" and "Plague" in *Europe* and bearing forged Blake signatures. But these highly finished drawings have little in common with the main group of pictures which can be traced back to the Boston exhibitions and which have certain characteristic features. They are drawings on rough, often tinted paper; they are copies of figures in the illuminated books, and they are considerably larger than the originals. The *Europe* forgery mentioned by Graham Robertson in the letter quoted at the beginning of this essay has—as reproduced by Figgis—little resemblance to these but much more to the two Crocker drawings. (This picture was, according to Figgis, in the collection of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; according to the Museum, it cannot be traced.) The remainder of our discussion will be limited to some of those pictures which we may reasonably assume can be traced back to John Camden Hotten.

Three of these drawings, reproduced here as figures 9, 10, and 11, are now in the Pierpont Morgan Library. According to the Library's records, they were once the property of Edward W. Hooper, who obtained them from J. W. Bouton. They later passed into the possession of Mabel Hooper La Farge, and then were inherited by L. Bancel La Farge, who attached a note on provenance; when the Library acquired them, they were known to be by a hand other than Blake's. What are the subjects? Figure 10 is an enlarged detail from the title page of



*America*, freely redrawn. Figure 9 is a redrawing of the four female figures in the upper right of *Jerusalem* 81, using the same general outline but varying in many points. The third picture (fig 11) is partly from *Jerusalem* 5 and partly from the title page of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*: a free copy of two kneeling figures from *Jerusalem* 5 enclosed by the pairs of blasted trees and the five flying birds of *The Marriage*, modified and redrawn. All three drawings were among those exhibited at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1891. (One or more may possibly be among those shown in 1880, but the catalogue entries for the first Boston exhibition are so brief that it is difficult to tell.) In the 1891 exhibition, entries 31 through 78 are identified as sketches related to specific illuminated books, entries 79 through 95 are associated with Blair's *Grave*, and 96 through 108 are classified as "Unidentified Designs." Let us concentrate for the moment on designs related to *Jerusalem*.

The catalogue lists nine designs under the heading *Jerusalem*, six from the collection of E. W. Hooper and five from that of Charles Eliot Norton. Of particular interest are items 74, 75, 76, and 77, all loaned by Hooper. Item 76 is described as "Group of three naked female figures, the head of a fourth barely indicated, standing among clouds, turned towards the left, with hands uplifted, the upper parts of the bodies bent forward." This is clearly the Morgan Library drawing reproduced here as figure 9. Like item 76, items 74, 75, and 77 are enlarged details of plate 81 of *Jerusalem*; in fact, as the catalogue points out, "the four sketches . . . contain all the groups which together form the composition on p 81."<sup>55</sup> Plate 81 is, of course, one of the facsimile plates in Swinburne's *William Blake* (fig 7) and this should suggest the inspiration for, if not the purpose of, these drawings. A less likely explanation would seem to be that they were made as preliminary studies for the reproduction of *Jerusalem* 81 in *William Blake*, made before Bellars had perfected the process that produced his photographically accurate final plate (which in this single instance he signed with his initials "H.J.B." in the bottom right corner). The "naked female figures" of item 76 (fig 9) are recognizable as the group in the upper right corner of the *Jerusalem* illumination, but their bodies are unlike the original in every curve and angle; the clouds are purely intrusive, seeming intended, as it were, to keep this sketch from constituting a part of the whole design. If sketches 74, 75, and 77 are of the same sort, they must have been formed for some other purpose than to fit together into a facsimile of the *Jerusalem* page from which they were extracted.

Their being somehow a by-product of the facsimile making, however, seems evident. In the same category we may understand the origin of items 31–38 (*Marriage* details) and 69–

55 *Exhibition of . . . Blake* 25.

77 (other *Jerusalem* details) and 78 (*Milton*). The latter seems especially significant as the only *Milton* design in the 1891 exhibition and as being sketched from the same page (plate 8 of copy A) that was reproduced, with photographic precision, facing page 258 of *William Blake*. Other sketches in the Boston Museum exhibition also seem to have some relation to Hotten's unrealized project of publishing a complete facsimile of Blake's illuminated works. Items 39–44 are listed under *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, 46–68 under *America*. One of the *America* sketches, item 49, is the Morgan Library drawing discussed above (fig 10): "A man, draped, sitting in profile towards the right, reading. A small naked figure, standing, leans against his back. Another, seen from the back, rises into the air in front of him." Was Bellars making sketches for facsimiles of *America* and *Visions* long before the photographic quality of the *Marriage* facsimile and of the plates for the Swinburne volume was achieved? Again, the Morgan sketch seems rather *from America* than *for* a facsimile of it: the dark shading behind the standing figure and below the rising figure would isolate this group from the other figures on the *America* page and seem more probably intended to frame and balance this sketch as a self-sufficient design.

A less unlikely hypothesis may be conjectured from the sketch (fig 11) that combines details from *Jerusalem* 5 and the *Marriage* title page. While obviously not a study for a facsimile edition of either work, this combination design may well have been a study for the illustrated title page of *William Blake* (fig 2). The design finally used combines elements from three pages of *Jerusalem*, including this detail from plate 5, and from the title pages of *Thel* and *The Marriage* (see figs 3 and 12). The bordering trees, used in figure 11, are not used in figure 2 but the birds between them are, plus birds from the *Thel* title page (fig 3) in a larger, box design. In the final design for *William Blake*, however, the birds and human figures are much more faithfully copied from Blake, though interspersed by flames suggested by Blake's but freely drawn. Quite certainly related to the final title-page design (fig 2) must be item 60 of the Boston catalogue: "Six small single figures, and two groups of two figures each, all naked, and floating in the air, with here and there indications of flames. Pencil on paper grounded a warm dark gray. All these figures and groups, with the exception of the lowermost figure, occur on pp. 5, 19, and 29 [of *Jerusalem*]." The title page as published does have figures from *Jerusalem* 5, 19, and 29, and the background color is indeed a warm dark gray. It also has, in its lowermost center area, six small single figures (plus a bird) and two groups of two figures each, all naked and all floating—borrowed from the central area of the *Marriage* title page, the flames of which have now been distributed generally but not in the middle space. The catalogue description makes this particular sketch sound like a drawing preliminary to the final design; yet without seeing how the details were grouped and sketched

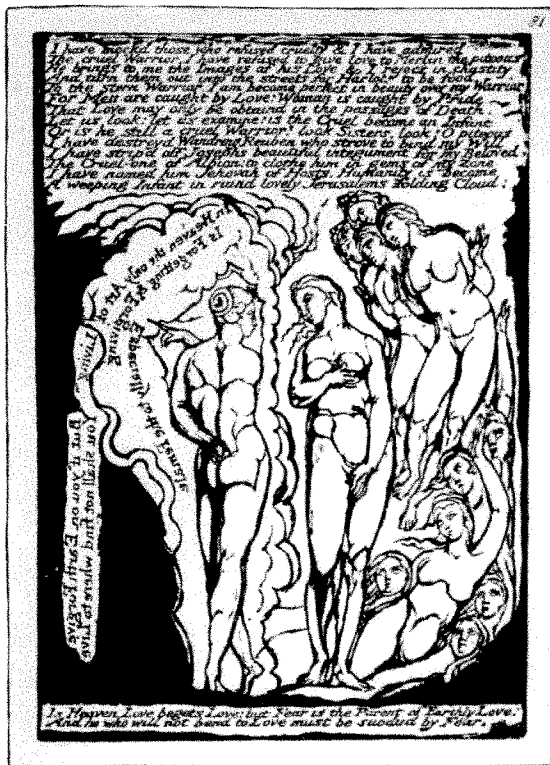


Fig 7. Bellars' facsimile of *Jerusalem 81*,  
 from copy A, facing page 276 in  
 Swinburne's *William Blake*—  
 Rare Book Division

Fig 6. Blake's *Jerusalem 81*, copy D—  
 Harvard College Library



Fig 8. Plate 81 from the Pearson facsimile  
(1877) of *Jerusalem*—Prints Division

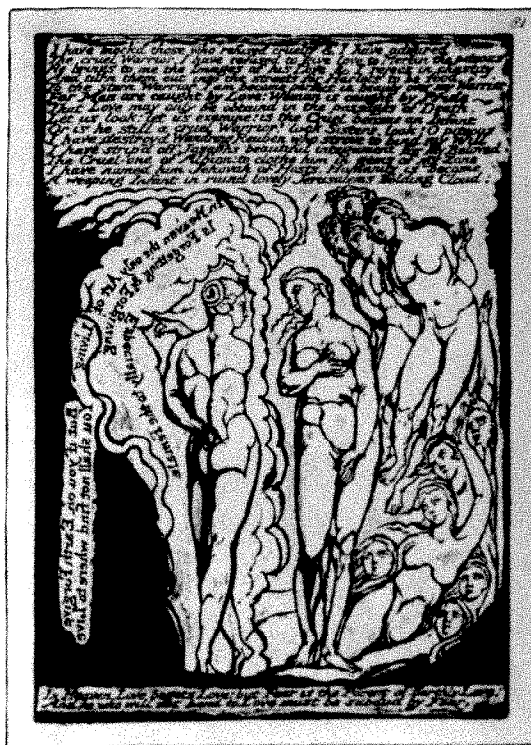


Fig 9. Sketch, wash and  
ink, based on a detail in  
*Jerusalem* 81—Pierpont  
Morgan Library



Fig 10. Sketch, wash and ink, based on a detail in the title page of *America*  
—Pierpont Morgan Library



Fig 11. Sketch, wash and ink, a composite of details from *Jerusalem 5* and *The Marriage* title page—Pierpont Morgan Library

Fig 12. Bellars' facsimile of the title page  
of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*,  
from the Hotten facsimile—Collection of  
Robert N. Essick

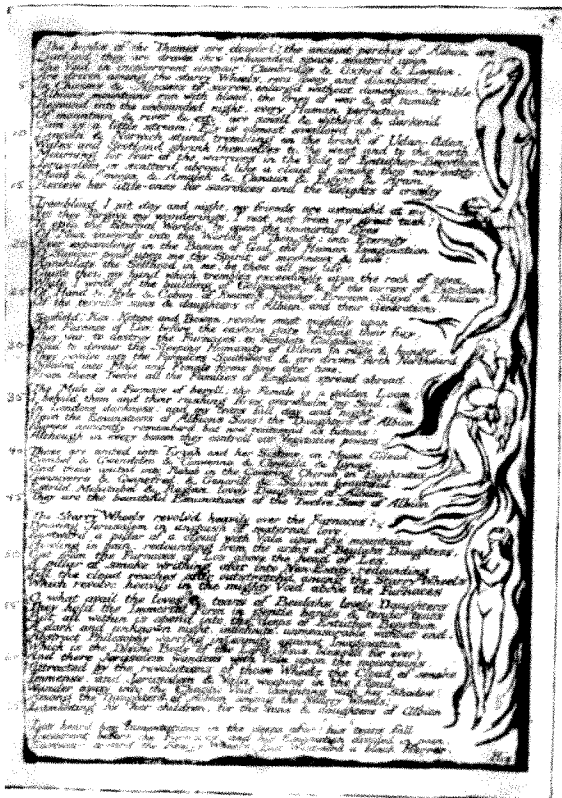
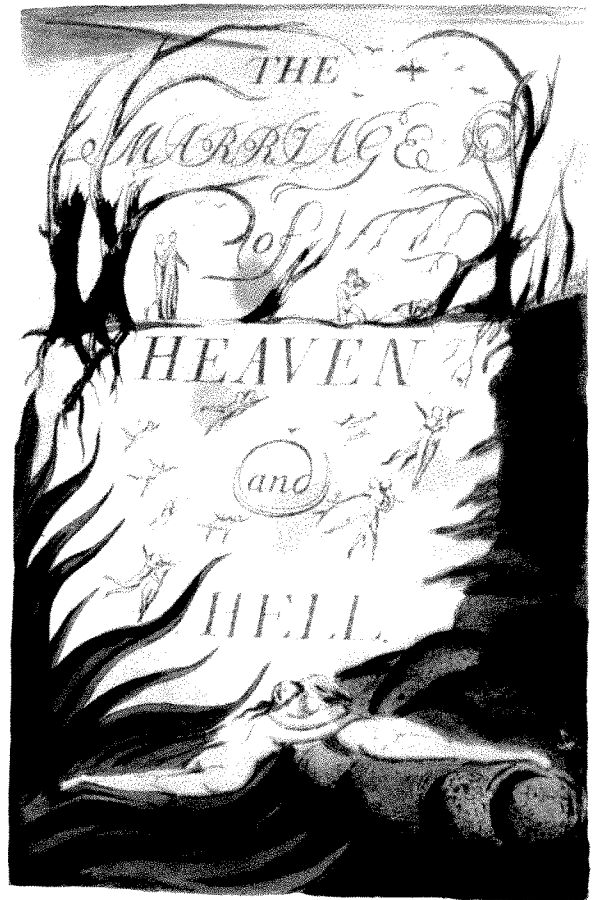


Fig 13. Blake's *Jerusalem* 5, copy D—  
Harvard College Library



we cannot judge whether it was any more likely to have been preliminary to rather than derived from the final design. As for figure 11, surely the wrong shape to have been intended for the entire design of the title page, everything about its composition—and particularly the dark shading at sides and bottom—suggests the self-contained and self-sufficient picture, suitable for framing.<sup>56</sup> And the same might be said of all the other sketches that emanated from Hotten's cellar that we have seen. Not all were shown in the Boston exhibition. Some were apparently sold directly to collectors in Pennsylvania, and although we are making no attempt to render a complete accounting of these drawings, two demand special attention—one in order to correct a previous error, the other because it contains an additional piece of information. The first of these is now in the Lockwood Memorial Library of the State University of New York at Buffalo. It was seen by the present author in 1970 and reproduced in the *Blake Newsletter*.<sup>57</sup> The crouching giant depicted is certainly a copy after Blake, consisting of the crouching figure in the lower left corner of plate 1 of *America*, much enlarged and imprecisely redrawn and placed in the center of a self-sufficient composition shaped by shading and the placing of a companion beside the man in the form of a coiled serpent made out of the worm from the bottom of Blake's page, given an improbable but sociable head and propped at an angle for no evident purpose but to fit, or almost fit, into a group picture. Another sketch from this same page of *America* is item 47 in the Boston catalogue: "A young man, naked, chained to a rock, like Prometheus, extended diagonally across the picture, with the head to the left above." (Evidently the tree and other humans were eliminated to achieve this sketch.) Another detail sketch after *America* 1 is among the Blake drawings once owned by Virginia Ostrom.<sup>58</sup>

Another drawing, important to us particularly for its provenance, is a copy (fig 14) of the design on plate 3 of *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* showing the naked Oothoon on a cloud, being attacked by one of Theotormon's eagles. Now in the collection of the Bryn Mawr Library, this picture bears the inscription: "Drawing by Blake / secured by me from the Hotten estate / JW Bouton." A comparison of the signature with that of one of Bouton's business letters shows the inscription to be authentic. This sketch alone, of those we have

56 There is a world of difference, it should be noted, between these sketches (on paper that is much rougher than photographs can suggest) and the highly finished forgeries mentioned above, the "Famine" and "Plague" from the Crocker estate and the *Europe* forgery reproduced in Figgis. These three pictures were worked up in a way unlike the group we are discussing; none of them belonged, so far as can be judged from the cata-

logue descriptions, to the Boston exhibition group.

57 "Blakes At Buffalo" *Blake Newsletter* 4 (1971) 81-86. This sketch once belonged to Emma W. Bucknell of Philadelphia; it was sold for \$900 in the American Art Association sale of April 2-3 1928.

58 The others, all similar in style to those we have so far discussed, are enlarged details after *America* 5, 14, and 15 and *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* 5.

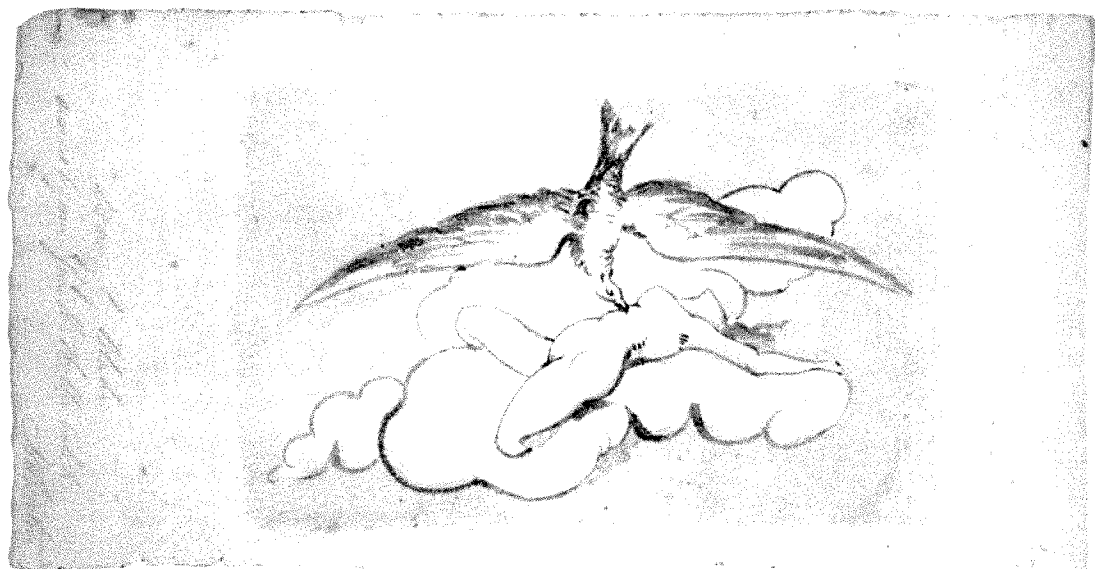


Fig 14. Sketch from *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* 3; inscribed by J. M. Bouton—Bryn Mawr College Library

discussed, is not shaped and isolated by the addition of shading and exclusion of centrifugal details—but then Blake's original picture in this instance is a self-contained unit. This drawing is like the others in its departure from Blake's shapes and proportions. The eagle's wing-spread is no wider than in Blake, but his body is expanded vertically, as is the rest of the picture. Oothoon is made much larger and more nearly the size of the eagle; she is given prominent breast and chin; dramatic pen strokes give the eagle's head and beak an un-Blakean emphasis.

The unphotographic changes of Blake's outlines and emphases that we find in this *Visions* sketch are perhaps no greater than those made in the larger details in the *Marriage* facsimile, however. This drawing alone seems to be, among the sketches we have seen and discussed here, eligible for the conjectural explanation that they were Bellars' preliminary but nearly final sketches for the making of facsimile pages (a facsimile of the *Visions* only conjectured to have been begun). Most of the others seem to be ruled out of this category, while appearing to be in some sense byproducts of the making of facsimile pages. We are far from having arrived at a satisfactory explanation of the sketcher's procedure and inten-

tions. Most of the sketches we have discussed seem likely to have been back-formations, sketches done as a result of the Hotten projects, but whether for the artist's purposes or the publisher's we do not know. Hotten may have saved some of the drawings for some future use, perhaps promotional, in connection with his dreamed-of complete facsimile edition. Or he himself may not have known their possible use. (Their relegation to a chest in his cellar shows they did not have a very active status.) An omnivorous collector, Hotten may have kept the drawings, may even have had them made, out of personal as distinguished from professional interest. Conceivably the figures in these drawings were sketched by Bellars for a free-hand facsimile before he turned to photography and were later shaped into separate "drawings" by the addition of those dark shadows and backgrounds. All this is admittedly speculative. What is not speculative is the fact that Hotten did publish the first colored facsimile plates after Blake, that he did publish the first complete facsimile of an illuminated book, that he did plan and advertise a complete facsimile of the illuminated works, that he died before this ambitious project could be realized, and that others sold as genuine Blakes the copies that had once belonged to him.<sup>59</sup>

*Boston University*

59 In investigating this subject, I was given information by a number of experts to whom it is a pleasure to express my gratitude. Among these are Hugh Amory (The Houghton Library), G. E. Bentley, Jr (University of Toronto), Ray Benton (Chester Public Library), Martin Butlin (The Tate Gallery), David V. Erdman (The New York Public Library), Robert N. Essick (California State University, Northridge), John E. Grant (University of Iowa), Warren R. Howell (John Howell Books), Mrs N. F. McMillan (City of Liverpool Museums), Robert Nikirk (The Grolier Club), Ruthven Todd, Geoffrey Trevelyan (Chatto and Windus), Richard Vogler (California State University, Northridge), and Jessica M. Winder (Grosvenor Museum, Chester). For bibliographical assistance, I wish to thank Foster Foreman and Valerie Valle. Much of the research was

made possible by the assistance of the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation.

For permission to reproduce the facsimile page of figure 12 I am grateful to Robert N. Essick; for the Bellars sketches in figures 9, 10, and 11, to the Trustees of the Pierpont Morgan Library; for the Bellars sketch in figure 14, to the Bryn Mawr College Library; for the title page of *The Book of Thel*, copy A, to the Trustees of the British Museum; for the facsimile pages in figures 4, 5, and 8, to the Prints Division, The New York Public Library; and for the reproductions from the Swinburne *Blake*, figures 2 and 7, to the Rare Book Division, The New York Public Library. For permission to quote from the Hotten records, grateful acknowledgment is made to Chatto and Windus.

EDWARD H. COHEN

## Uncollected Early Poems by William Ernest Henley

IN 1869-1870 in several issues of a raffish little journal, the *Period*, there appeared an anonymous series of eight "Bohemian Ballads." An unpublished letter in the Berg Collection of The New York Public Library confirms that the poems may be attributed to William Ernest Henley. John Connell asserted twenty-five years ago that Henley once privately admitted authorship of these works,<sup>1</sup> but they have never been reprinted or elsewhere mentioned. In addition to their intrinsic significance as the poet's first published verses, their value lies in the evidence they provide of the initial literary influences upon him; generally recognized as an "activist" in the counter-decadent tradition, Henley may now be regarded as having early fallen under the spell of Swinburne.

From 1861, when he succumbed to a tubercular arthritis that infected his hands and feet, Henley had the advantage of a stimulating education under T. E. Brown at the Crypt Grammar School in his native Gloucester. Though his studies were recurrently interrupted by illness, he distinguished himself as a promising scholar, and in 1867, at the age of eighteen, he passed the Oxford Local Schools Examination with a respectable knowledge of English letters. His success as a senior candidate proved to be of little consequence, however, for the advancing necrosis of his bones curtailed his formal preparation. On June 16 1868 he was admitted to St Bartholomew's Hospital, in London, where the house surgeon amputated his right foot.

Never particularly sound of health, Henley had read his boyhood quietly away in his father's bookshop, where his preference "in all the full-shelved Libraries of Romance" was for the *Arabian Nights*.<sup>2</sup> More than anything else he had desired passionately to be what his

1 John Connell [John Henry Robertson] *W. E. Henley* (London: Constable 1949) 36-37

2 The quotation is from "Arabian Nights' Entertainments," one of the few nostalgic poems Henley ever wrote. Both Connell (p 28) and J. H. Buckley (*William Ernest Henley: A Study of the "Counter-Decadence" of*

*the 'Nineties* [Princeton Univ Press 1945] 34-35) assert that Henley was generally reluctant to speak or write of his youth, but they cite this poem as evidence that Antoine Galland's *Arabian Nights* "gave an extraordinary stimulus to his childish imagination."

frail constitution made impossible: an adventurer. Still, it was contrary to his nature to be disillusioned with life; "it was a boyish fault of mine," he once wrote, "to be strong and self-willed: I liked to have my own way."<sup>3</sup> Realizing that he could not be a man of action, he determined to fulfill his ambitions in a literary career. When he was discharged from St Bartholomew's on April 8 1869, crippled and destitute, alone and without connections, he resolved to remain in London.

For several months Henley wandered about the city in a rare attitude of personal freedom. In the bookstalls there were volumes available that would not have been sold in a country bookshop or offered through Mudie's Select Library or included in the traditional English curriculum, and instinctively he began to read Balzac and Musset, Gautier and Baudelaire, Murger and Swinburne. It is likely that he discovered Swinburne's "Cleopatra" in a bandied copy of the September 1866 *Cornhill Magazine*, for his own first verses were imitative of the same erotic mode and were submitted as well to the *Cornhill*. None of these efforts is extant, but a letter that accompanied one unsuccessful contribution—dated July 23 1869, and addressed from 11 Bateman's Buildings, Soho Square W.—contains a candid account of his self-image as a fledgling poet:

Mr. Henley has no resource but his pen, which has, hitherto, been perfectly unsuccessful. In addressing this, therefore, to the Editor C. M. he trusts that that gentleman will, in case of the rejection of the MS, be so kind as to give him some opinion however slight, as to its merits and the chance of his ultimate success. Mr. Henley is induced to make this request to a perfect stranger, simply because he is entirely without friends of any kind, more especially friends upon whose judgement he could rely.<sup>4</sup>

It is probable that Henley's notion of the artist's life was impulsively formed by reading Henri Murger's *Scènes de la vie de Bohème*, for in August he moved from his lodgings in Soho and began to frequent the lowly chophouses and pubs of the East End. He often visited a coffeehouse at 345 Commercial Road E., and before long his closest friend was the proprietor, Harry Nichols. Only a little older than Henley, the red-bearded Nichols had acquired a vast familiarity with London low-life. He had had enough education to appreciate the presence in his establishment of the young man with an interest in contemporary French literature, and he was generous in providing him with meals and money and an occasional bed. After midnight, when the other customers had departed, the two of them would walk

3 Quoted by Connell (p 41) from a "Margate" essay written ca. 1880, but never published and now apparently lost.

4 Henley Archive (MA 1617), Pierpont Morgan Li-

brary; this letter and others in the Henley Archive are published by permission of the Pierpont Morgan Library.

together through the darkened streets, Henley drawing from Nichols his knowledge of the life and language of the thieves, pickpockets, touts, and pimps of the district. Inevitably they began to think of themselves as true bohemians.

Henley's friendship with Nichols is significant because for years he was to cling to it as an emblem of the camaraderie of youthful spirits that constituted life in London's bohemia. After 1871, when his infection recrudesced and he became too ill to remain in the city, he wrote faithfully to Harry, first from the Royal Sea-Bathing Infirmary at Margate and then from Lister's wards in the Royal Infirmary at Edinburgh. Addressed from hospital, where the libraries had nothing to send him "but garbage, or trash, or history" and where he suffered "much from want of books," these letters are especially important; for the prolific literary judgments included in them provide an illuminating catalogue of the works that he must have read during his vagabonding months: Hugo's *Les Châtiments*, Laclos's *Les Liaisons dangereuses*, Gautier's *Emaux et camées*, Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du mal*, Taine's *Les Pyrénées*, and Swinburne's *Poems and Ballads* and *Atalanta in Calydon*.<sup>5</sup>

Disappointed by his inability to place his earliest poems in the more prestigious magazines, Henley somehow drifted into free-lance journalism. His first position was as a contributor to *The Period: An Illustrated Review of What Is Going On*, owned and edited by Henry Vizetelly. The *Period* was but one of hundreds of rag-tail, penny-a-line comic and sensational weeklies that appeared at mid-century. Like the best of them, such as *Punch* and the *Shilling Magazine* and the *Illustrated London News*, its editorials endeavored to provoke "a compassion for all suffering, an irreverence for all humbug, [and] a disinterest in politics,"<sup>6</sup> and its illustrations were directed "most to the taste of the *cognoscenti* of the pavement."<sup>7</sup> Like the worst of them, it made its appearance with a pretentious flourish, existed precariously for a few months, and then was dissolved. Its readers were the young, the gifted, the reckless—the denizens of the city's bohemia. Vizetelly, an energetic opportunist, was continually flitting back and forth between London and the continent. He had previously established himself as an engraver and as the editor of the *Pictorial Times* and the *Illustrated Times*, and in publishing the *Period*—issued first on October 30 1869 and then for seventeen

5 Letters of W. E. Henley to Harry Nichols, HM 30912–30935, Henry E. Huntington Library; excerpts from these letters are published by permission of the Huntington Library.

6 F. David Roberts "More Early Victorian Newspaper Editors" *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter* no. 16 (1972) 18

7 Henry Vizetelly *Glances Back through Seventy Years* (London: Paul, Trench, Trübner 1893) 188. Vizetelly's "autobiographical and other reminiscences" include no reference to his editorship of the *Period*, but they terminate with events of the late 60s and early 70s when, he concludes, "eventually I determined to resume my old calling of publisher" (II 432).

successive weeks thereafter<sup>8</sup>—his principal ambition was to import a dashing picture of Paris for his English readers. Constant features included unsigned editorials, essays, and poems that mirrored the contemporary scene, along with extravagant full-page, two-toned reproductions of the French illustrator Grévin.

With the publication of the eighth issue of the *Period*, Henley's series of "Bohemian Ballads" commenced:

### BOHEMIAN BALLADS

#### No. I.—L'AMOUR QUI PASSE.

HARD wind and cold sun of December,  
 One side of the Circus in shade,  
 Grey sky, like a feathery ember,  
 With slips of pale azure inlaid;  
 A rush of existence fulfilling,  
 With being this poem in stone,  
 An observer incessantly thrilling  
 With feelings unknown.

The pavements with beauty were splendid,  
 Intent on mankind and the modes,  
 Long files of pedestrians wended  
 Their ways to suburban abodes.  
 Through Regent Street life, like a river,  
 Flowed on to the confluence made  
 Of the ways that the City deliver,  
 From feet never stayed.

A crowd to bewilder a dullard:  
 Snobs, arabs, grisettes, cadgers, swells;  
 A dark mass of humanity, coloured

<sup>8</sup> The only extant files of the original series of the *Period* are preserved in the British Museum and the Birmingham Public Library. An equally short-lived

second series commenced publication in May 1870; see M. H. Spielmann "The Rivals of 'Punch'" *The National Review* 25 (1895) 664.

By the brilliance of scarlet-clad belles.  
Dray, omnibus, brougham, and hansom,  
Their wheels crashing harsh upon stone,  
With the cries of the creatures, whose ransom  
From vice is unknown.

And I, in that sweet contemplation,  
That's born in the bowl of a pipe,  
Stood giving its due valuation  
To every peculiar type.  
I criticised ankle and chignon,  
And analyzed men as they moved,  
Till, humming an air out of *Mignon*,  
I looked and I loved.

For I saw—the remembrance is precious—  
A maid in the midst of the throng,  
As placidly, sweetly delicious,  
As a trill of Venusian song:  
And I thought: “Could my wishes go through you,  
Not for long should you wander alone;  
For I'd love you—that is, if I knew you—  
Sweet lady unknown.”

Her hair and her eyes Aphrodité  
Had given this maden at birth,  
Whose shape was the shape of a flighty  
Young Frank of Parisian earth.  
Her dress was most *chic*, and its scarlet  
Delightfully, suddenly flushed  
To her cheeks as she glanced at the varlet  
Who smiled when she blushed;

And who thought: “Thus the hazards that fashion,  
This varied existence of ours,  
Frame—is it for pastime?—this passion,



Short-lived as the earliest flowers.  
 A moment here flutters beside us,  
 His breath in our nostrils is blown,  
 Then the world and its rumours divide us,  
 And each is unknown."

I think as I write I behold her,  
 Serenely unconscious she passed;  
 And swift upon me, o'er her shoulder,  
 A glance serreptitiously cast.  
 Awhile by her vesture I traced her;  
 She looked, and again flitted on;  
 Then the crush from my vision effaced her—  
 My lady was gone.

I loved her an hour, and I squandered  
 The moments my leisure allowed,  
 In wand'ring the way she had wandered,  
 And rearing a castle on cloud.  
 But she faded from me. We forget them,  
 The girls we are pledged to for aye;  
 And it is not in us to regret them,  
 These loves of a day.<sup>9</sup>

No. II.—L'AMOUR QUI VIENT.

IN my garret most delicious, as becoms a young ambitious  
 Picker-up with pen some few of Fortune's sparsely-scattered crumbs,  
 A Bohemian independent, filled with youth and hope resplendent,  
 I behold myself attendant of a love—the love that comes.  
 I am poor, as youth is ever; for success alone can sever  
 The aspirant after honour from the poverty that stings,  
 That with chains of travail binds him, buffets, bruises, often blinds him,  
 The success that sometimes finds him, flapping on with leaden wings.

<sup>9</sup> *The Period: An Illustrated Review of What Is Going On* no. 8 (Dec 18 1869) 60.

Yet, with never a condition, save his pen and his ambition,  
 Watched of Hope and Faith, the angels tender-hearted, never dumb;  
 Where old age, that's ever fretting, broken hopes would be regretting,  
 Youth, his miseries forgetting, sits and pictures life to come. . . .

[No. 11 (Jan 8 1870) 84; seven stanzas omitted]

NO. III.—A LAMENTATION.

"Noir ou blanc, tout chat est gris."—*Théophile Gautier*.

AH, me unhappy! Loveless, all my days  
 Darken to nights that brighten into day;  
 And yet no beauty is it mine to praise,  
 Though I console me with the saw that says—  
 Confound it!—Every cat at night is grey.

True as all proverbs: and I can but grieve  
 That men do not the laws of cats obey;  
 For then some comfort I, too, might receive,  
 Though now incredulous, I *must* believe—  
 Yes, must!—that every cat at night is grey.

NINON I worship wheresoe'er she go,  
 And yet she flouts me in her pretty way.  
 Ah! NINON mine, why such aversion show!  
 You of all others surely ought to know  
 What quantities of cats at night are grey.

MARGÔT is plain, of sweethearts has but few,  
 And for that reason willingly might stray.  
 Stay! I recall an axiom that, as new,  
 MARGÔT for me from her experience drew,  
 Which says, that every cat at night is grey.

Shall I take heart? MUSETTE has long evaded  
 All my attentions, though I would she'd stay:  
 The port must be surprised and not blockaded.  
 When won, she may be easily persuaded  
 Of me, that every cat at night is grey.

[No. 12 (Jan 15 1870) 91]

## No. IV.—MY PIPE.

“Tiens, voici la pipe!”—*French Song.*

YES! It were idle, did I seek to shelve it,  
The bowl wherein my wayward fancies dip!  
Pass, meerschaum mine, pass from thy couch of velvet  
To the unchilled caresses of my lip:  
Secured as closely as the vitreous box  
Of Arab story with its hundred locks.

The spring is pressed, and, clasped of crimson fold,  
An Aphrodite for some future Titian,  
Thou flashest forth, and glad eyes behold  
Thy colours blending as the great Venetian  
Would have combined them:—umber toning down  
To a rich, amber-tipped, soft golden-brown.

Behold thy food! The fragrant Latakiah,  
Whose very name recalls the mystic East;  
The bearded Yacoob and his dusky Leah,  
The dim bazaar, the solemn finger-feast,  
The Odalisque who dreams and swings, adored  
Of some one, not her master though her lord.

Ripened of Syrian suns, we burn this incense  
On Meditation's altar, and its fume  
Fills with a gentle calm my vexed and thin sense;  
And as the soft blue spirals crowd the room,  
We, meerschaum mine, conclude that life's a joke,  
That love, ambition, fame pass—puff!—like smoke.

So let us, friend, true, tried, and constant-hearted,  
Consoler of inestimable worth,  
Call up the ghosts of days that, long departed,  
Have left with us sweet witnesses on earth  
Of the sweet presence of a love that grew  
When first my days were linked, old friend, with you.

For, you remember, Margaret and I  
    Strolled down the Strand and looked through many panes,  
Ere we could find you: and the wind was high,  
    And the wet pavement foul with recent rains:  
Then we two sought you, and went home again,  
She all alone:—we were not lovers then.

But that same night we spoke, and I confided  
    To you the thoughts, the hopes, the pleasant dreams  
Her presence made me foster, and decided  
    That our two lives should be as confluent streams.  
And I recalled you many a dreamy rhyme,  
Telling her bearing in that far-off time.

I sang to you her glorious hair, her eyes,  
    Wherein my own long afterwards were glassed;  
I told you of a figure that defies  
    The world to find its fellow; and, at last,  
You whispered, “Do you love her?”—when I said,  
“Don’t be impertinent!” and—went to bed.

And Margaret liked you: for she’d often picture  
    The laden camel bearing you away  
From Erzeroum, until the German snicked your  
    Shape from a lump of light and creamy clay;  
Regardless of the idly-curious mass  
Who flattened noses on his grimy glass.

But that was long before the girl grew jealous,  
    To which affection you and I were martyr.  
She left me for—a lot of other fellows;  
    While you, old man, assumed that silver garter.  
She struck you from my lips; but silver cures  
A world of ills, and it has bettered yours.

Poor Margaret! We met the other day:  
    She stepped into her brougham from the draper’s,—

Him at the Circus:—and though people say  
 She cuts, for alien cash, some sorry capers,  
 I should, old friend, though all things reckless proved her,  
 Remember her with kindness:—for I loved her.  
 I loved her! Strange I should repeat these words,  
 And picture now the girl of long ago!  
 Strange!—Is it strange?—Our hearts, like summer birds,  
 Seek still the nests that they were wont to know:  
 The nests among green leaves, full-filled with gladness,  
 Or ever winter winds had blown them sadness.  
 Margaret is gone—where few would care to tell;  
 And colourless the memories that recall  
 To me—alone—the girl I loved so well;  
 But you, old friend, are still my all-in-all.  
 Loves, hopes, illusions, die without a doubt;  
 But you remain, and——Bah!—the pipe is out!

[No. 14 (Jan 29 1870) III]

No. V.—A SOLILOQUY.

“Si je vous le disais, pourtant,—  
 Qui sait, brune aux yeux bleus, ce que vous en diriez?”—  
*A. de Musset*

[ . . . ]

Your eyes are velvety, your hair is silky,  
 Your hands and feet of Titian's rarest type;  
 Clear your complexion though a thought too milky,  
 Your underlip a trifle over-ripe.  
 In fine you are—and do not think I flatter,  
 It has no after-thought, my adulation!—  
 That finest compound of organic matter,  
 A pretty woman fond of admiration.  
 These eyes speak volumes. Have they any meaning,  
 Those mute orations under which men grovel?

Is not their rhetoric destitute of meaning,  
As idle as the vapid modern novel?  
But yet in spite of this endowment splendid,  
This gift of Nature in a gracious mood,  
I love you not, nor ever have intended  
My protestations on you to intrude.

[ . . . ]

And yet you're fair! Few women are above you;  
(Offended of you, they'd be long forgiving:)  
So fair, I almost think that I could love you,  
Were you alive, or capable of living.

[No. 15 (Feb. 5 1870) 115, stanzas 1-2 and 7-9 omitted]

No. VI. — MIDNIGHT MUSINGS.

"Nox erat."—Hor. *Epod.* XVI.

[ . . . ]

"Of course I perceive my failings;  
But amendment takes some time,  
And, believe me, I have no leisure  
Excepting for smoke and rhyme.  
The needful moments are lacking  
For turning myself unto good;  
And, even if I possessed them,  
It's doubtful whether I should."

[No. 16 (Feb. 12 1870) 125;  
last of eleven stanzas]

No. VII. — A DECLARATION.

"What shall I swear by?"—*Romeo and Juliet*.

By those eyes that now gleam through their lashes  
Like stars through a curtain of leaves;  
By the glamour that, swallow-like, flashes,  
And returns to its home in their eaves:

By that mouth never weary of kissing;  
 That wealth of magnificent hair;  
 That *ensemble* whence nothing is missing  
 That man can denominate fair:  
 By those dimples that vanish—the stupids!  
 When laughter goes out like a flame;  
 Those recesses where millions of Cupids  
 Have found habitation and name:  
 By that throat; by that waist Medicean,  
 As supple, at once, and as strong  
 As a fervid Swinburnian paean,  
 Or a torrent of Lesbian song. . . .

[No. 17 (Feb 19 1870) 135;  
 seven stanzas omitted]

#### NO. VIII.—THE GLOVE.

“We play with light loves in the portal.”—SWINBURNE.

IT holds a lot of curious odds and ends,  
 This quaint old chest that closes with a soft spring:  
 Letters from tradesmen, publishers, and friends,  
 Sketch and MS. for—taste with time amends!  
 Not being a Brutus, I preserve my offspring.  
 My tragedy, a *première*’s satin shoe,  
 A battered ponderous tome of lexicography;  
 A writ, a farce, a bill, a *billet-doux*,  
 “I must *adoar* you *thogh* you are *untrew*”:—  
 It is ingenious, feminine orthography!  
 Faublas, a skull, a Venus after Etty,  
 A rose-crowned Eros pottering above;  
 Some reams of rhyme, a head of—ah! yes!—Letty,  
 A water-colour done from Boulogne jetty—  
 And—what is this?—a dingy white kid glove.

A glove once dainty, yellow now with age,  
That takes me by the hand and leads me on,  
Opening life's volume at an early page,  
And showing lines that I, incipient sage,  
Engraved too deeply e'er to find them gone.

I read of days when I, though at the start  
Of midnight oil a not infrequent burner,  
Confused the art of love with love of art;  
When ignorant of any better part,  
I imitated Frith, and laughed at Turner.

I live once more in Newman Street, and fill  
With charcoaled song and sketch my attic's stencil;  
Gulp down without grimace the bitter pill  
Of poverty, and think myself in skill  
A second Gautier, strong with pen and pencil.

I read of oyster suppers, duns, and debts,  
Of pipes and beer, of trials, failures all,  
At the Academy; of certain pets  
Among the smart, bright, impudent *grisettes*,  
Until I come to an Alhambra ball.

Behold the picture! Leicester Square full-filled  
With fog, with rattling cabs, and swearing drivers,  
With link- and water-men in rhetoric skilled,  
With critical spectators winter-chilled—  
Of compliments for each new mask contrivers.

Thus things without; within, festoons of lamps,  
A blaze of gas, intolerable heat,  
*Cocottes* and snobs, young swells and aged scamps,  
New brilliant costumes, unsuccessful vamps,  
Laughter and noise of many moving feet;

The *Gustav* galop rushing through the air  
On resonant wings of blended brass and string,  
Don Caesars, brigands, vestals, fairies fair,



Clowns, Charleses, *débardeurs*, a dancing bear,  
A nun and imp—all hoof and horn and wing.  
“I know you, mask!”—“You monster!”—“Loup! Ohé!”  
“Oh, don’t.”—“Lead on! I’ll follow”—“Ah, the fright!”  
The demon of debauch, superb in sway,  
Seemed to transform this mass of shrieking clay  
Into a fever-dream of noise and light.  
Then I recall a domino and mask,  
Two bright diminutives of morn’s clear star  
Behind its loopholes, my resolve to ask,  
The Cliquot leaping from its foil-capped flask,  
The mutual thought, “I wonder who you are!”  
The languid rapture Strauss could once inspire  
With a sweet dreamily-delirious waltz,  
Again lays hold on me with hands of fire,  
As round and round I bear, too young to tire,  
A shape that would excuse a world of faults.  
And then—but why continue? Why this last  
Dry skeleton with living flesh renew?  
Let it go by, with other dead things massed,  
As long ago my lips’ remembrance passed  
From off the face my tired eyes never knew.  
Strengthened of sleep, they knew the light of day  
Too late to break the secrecy above  
The happy dark. Unseen she stole away,  
And searching, I no token of her stay  
Could find, save this one—her forgotten glove.  
Relic of passion, vagabond and light,  
As e’er assumed love’s garment to disgrace it,  
Go, burn!—Yet stay!—The moments were so bright,  
This is the only witness of their flight;  
And so I think—I think that I’ll replace it.

In his preface to *Scènes de la vie de Bohème*, Henri Murger wrote: "Aujourd'hui comme autrefois, tout homme qui entre dans les arts, sans autre moyen d'existence que l'art lui-même, sera forcé de passer par les sentiers de la Bohème. La plupart des contemporains qui étalent les plus beaux blasons de l'art ont été des bohémiens; et, dans leur gloire calme et prospère, ils se rappellent souvent, en le regrettant peut-être, le temps où, gravissant la verte colline de la jeunesse, ils n'avaient d'autre fortune, au soleil de leurs vingt ans, que le courage, qui est la vertu des jeunes, et que l'espérance, qui est le million des pauvres."<sup>10</sup> Henley, living in vagabondage in his twentieth year, clearly identified with these sentiments. The speaker in his "ballads" is a young artist struggling with poverty and dreaming of greatness. He lives without wage, unpractical and imprudent, happy in his irresponsibility. His world, a place-name without a location, is bohemia. His one morality and his one devotion is his art.

The epigraphs to these *Bohemian Ballads* suggest the diverse sources of Henley's inspiration, but each poem may be regarded as "a fervid Swinburnean paean." There are deliberate imitations of the exquisite music achieved in Swinburne's *Poems and Ballads* of 1866. The profusion of plural nouns in "L'Amour Qui Vient"—like notes in a scale—consciously echoes the ninth stanza of "The Garden of Proserpine."<sup>11</sup> The excessive use of parallelisms in "Midnight Musings" recreates the languorous measures of a lyric like "Rococo." And the construction of sentences in long syntactic units, as in "L'Amour Qui Passe," reproduces the modulations of sound and rhythm so sensitively realized in "The Triumph of Time." Moreover, just as Swinburne's *Poems and Ballads* may be read as an extended monologue of a persona that explores his spiritual impotence and ennui, his per-

<sup>10</sup> *Scènes de la vie de Bohème* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères [1851] 1883) 6: "Today as in the past, anybody who goes into the arts lacking a means of support other than art itself will be obliged to travel down the pathways of Bohemia. Most of our contemporaries who display the most impressive coats-of-arms in the realm of the arts at one time were bohémians; and, in their quite glorious calm and prosperity they often recall, perhaps with some regret, the times when, climbing the steep green slope of youth, they had no resources when they were in their twenties beyond courage, that virtue of the young, and hope, that fortune possessed by the poor."

<sup>11</sup> The poetic sensibility in the *Bohemian Ballads* is derived from Swinburne, whose seminal essay on Baudelaire in the Sept 6 1862 *Spectator* had crystallized his position as the first English exponent of French

aestheticism. Although Henley once affirmed that Gautier's *Emaux et camées* were "the best society-verses" he had ever read and that Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du mal* were "real flowers, no artful *pastiche* of some clever *fleuriste*, but genuine flowers . . . from the Devil's hothouse" [Letters . . . to Harry Nichols, HM 3092.1], he seems here to share Swinburne's tendencies to convert Gautier's search for *le mot juste* to a personal search for *le ton juste* and to confuse Baudelaire's moral passion with an interest in vice for its own sake. Henley's fascination with "The Garden of Proserpine" persevered. The penultimate stanza of Swinburne's poem is the direct source of a draft of "Invictus" that he composed in April 1875; see my article "Two Anticipations of Henley's 'Invictus'" *Huntington Library Quarterly* 37 (1974) 191-96.

verse association of love with death, and his vulnerability to the figure of the *femme fatale*, so are Henley's poems the expression of a voice that contemplates similar ambiguities of the themes of suffering and humiliation. Ninon, Margôt, and Musette, albeit less fleshly, are assuredly bohemian versions of Faustine and Dolores. In both series there is much passion but little fulfillment; the most palpable emotion is articulated for the shadowy girl who refuses, or is unaware of, the poet's love. Certainly, the *Bohemian Ballads* lack the sustained melodiousness and the distinctive vitality of the *Poems and Ballads*. Just as Swinburne derived from Gautier and Baudelaire the concepts of *l'art pour l'art* and *le sentiment du beau*, but was incapable of reproducing either their severity of style or chronic pessimism, so is it simply in choice of subjects and general ethos that Henley exhibits the influence of Swinburne.

That Henley lived a bohemian existence in the late 1860s and early 70s may be confirmed by recurrent accounts of his vagabondage in his letters to Harry Nichols; but that he translated these experiences into poetry has remained unsubstantiated. Because there were scores of young poets who imitated Swinburne's *Poems and Ballads* as a form or herald of social revolution, and because only three of Henley's published lyrics are dated earlier than 1875 (when his poetic sensibility changed quite radically), it is fruitless to establish a case for attribution of the *Bohemian Ballads* by internal evidence or canonical association alone. Fortunately, there is direct external evidence that verifies Henley's authorship of the series.

When the *Period* ceased publication on February 26 1870, Henley's days as "a Bohemian independent" were numbered. The infection that had plagued him for a decade continued to spread, and he became too ill to move about the city without assistance. On August 1 he submitted to the *Cornhill* "some verses on the late declaration of war" and assured the editor that he was "usually able to retouch anything very materially when in type," but the manuscript was returned within three weeks.<sup>12</sup> Infirm, impoverished, and uncertain of the genuineness of his ability as a poet, he turned for advice and encouragement to Swinburne:

17 Richmond Terrace  
Shepherd's Bush W.  
20/70

Sir,

In addressing you without being in anywise known to you, I am conscious that I commit both a fault and a breach of etiquette. Perhaps, however, after the lecture of this letter you will be good enough to pardon both of these and receive in good faith the apology that I offer you with all the assurance of sincerity and necessity.

12 Henley Archive, Pierpont Morgan Library.

It is impossible for me to explain the purpose wherewith I venture to write to you, without running the risk of being considered *un peu égoïsté* by talking of myself. However, I shall take the liberty of sparing you as much troublesome detail as possible and commence at once by telling you that, not yet twenty-one years of age, I find myself as trouble-scarred and as unfit to struggle with life as a soldier after a Beresina and a new Russian retreat. The terrible misfortunes through which I have passed—I will detail them to you more fully if such be your future desire—have obliged me to take the only career left open to me, the only one I am bound also to say, troubles apart, I should have chosen, the career of letters. I have attempted this alone and unaided and with success both encouraging and discouraging at once. I have been connected with a certain satirical journal, whose untimely decease put an end to the first connection I had formed, and in this I was allowed to say pretty much what I thought without any fear of evil consequences arising from an outburst of British *bégueulisme*. The eight “copies of verses” forming a series of “Bohemian Ballads” were indeed but the commencement of a design I had formed of delineating the lights and shadows of the *Vie de Bohème* of Henri Murger: the paper stopped, however, as I have already had the honour of telling you and elsewhere I have been so unsuccessful that but for a certain blind love for, and confused idea of the glorious beauty of Art, I should perhaps have pitched away ink and pen and learnt to sew nethersocks or their modern equivalents to procure myself the luxuries of life which are verily, ill as I am, necessities to me.

I do not think that I have failed for lack of power: (literary vanity is, doubtless, so well known to you that you will pardon, I hope, this seeming conceit) I rather choose to believe that I have failed through my peculiar education. Knowing scarcely enough Latin to stumble through an *hyphallic* of Catullus, I have thrown myself body and soul into French sentiment and art as represented by Balzac and Alfred de Musset. Ill and alone I have mused and dreamed over their words untill a reproduction, an imitation, a corresponding vein of thought has become almost second nature with me. One English author only has exercised a power over me perhaps—nay certainly—superior to theirs: and such is the passionate admiration I entertain for the writings of this last that I can give you no greater proof of my embarrassment than by confessing to you that I have only been able to become possessed of two of his books; viz the *Poems and Ballads* and the *Atalanta in Calydon*.

It is perhaps this peculiar vein of reading and expression that is one of the causes of my want of success: and certainly this is why I venture to apply for counsel to a man whose position as an artist is so high that my poor tribute of admiration, though it be sincere, cannot add one whit to his glory though it may reflect some credit on my own taste. I have been of such length in my explanations that I fear I have wearied you—if indeed you have read thus far—and with this thought I hasten to the real end of my letter in order to bring it to a speedy conclusion. I ask then permission to submit to you for your consideration a poem that I have at present in my desk. I do this because, without friends or advisers of any kind, almost alone in the world in fact, I am unable to form any judgement as to my own productions: A boy of twenty, if he possesses any critical faculty, is quite unable to exercise it on his own works. And furthermore I beg of you, should you judge it to have any merit, to help me with the advice and encouragement I so sorely need. If by introduction & counsel you could aid me to make a creditable appearance in the pages of any review or magazine wherewith

you may be connected, believe me that the sweetest reflection of all to me would be that I had had [sic] won my spurs under the conduct of a leader whose notice would be my pride as his works have been my delight

I am at present very ill and this letter to you stands in the position of a forlorn hope. Written with the hope of interesting you, you will pardon me the faults of composition, the wearisome detail, the expression of admiration in which I have indulged. Believe me, Sir, that I have written with perfect sincerity, and that, knowing the many applications of the same sort men of genius are pestered withal, I am sorry to find myself obliged to rank with the other privates in the ragged regiment of literature. That I have had no choice, however, you may know by the knowledge of my position, by the peculiar nature of the poem itself and by the account of the circumstances under which it was written which I shall not fail to send you with it should you incline to its perusal. In a worse position than that of Chatterton I appeal to you for counsel: it is for you to say whether in doing thus I have done well.

I am, Sir  
Yours most obediently  
W. E. HENLEY

A. C. Swinburne Esqre.<sup>13</sup>

There is no record of a response to this letter. But Henley's hyperbolic prose provides sufficient evidence that in the period when he first dedicated himself to poetry the most intimate of his enthusiasms was his admiration for Swinburne.<sup>14</sup> Further study of his canon—in light of this influence—may well be warranted.

### *Rollins College*

13 ALS [no month] 20 [18]70. This letter in the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection is published by permission of The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

14 During 1872–73, at the Royal Sea-Bathing Infirmary, Henley composed a "Margate Song-Cycle," drafts and variants of which are preserved at the National Library of Scotland, the Henry E. Huntington Library, and the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. Each lyric—as in Swinburne's finer love poetry—attempts to capture the sounds and motions of the sea and to explore the paradoxical permanence of the elemental setting and mutability of love. "The Song of the Sea," Henley advised Harry Nichols, on Nov 21 1872, "is a long way higher than I have ever flown" (HM 30914). But a fair copy of the sequence was sent to T. E. Brown, whose evaluation of it—in a letter dated Apr 1 1873—was decidedly unenthusiastic: "The sea poem . . . is so monotonous; a series of parallel lines—one or two thoughts repeated *ad in-*

*frutum*. This is from Swinburne. Would that you had never seen a word of him!" (Henley Archive, Pierpont Morgan Library).

On Aug 30 1874, James Runciman—who had been one of Henley's confreres at Harry Nichols's tavern—sent "a parcel of mss." to Swinburne and introduced its author: "I consider my poor lad is some sort of a disciple of your own;—in spite of my romances [sic], he always persisted in reading you, he knows every line you have written except Bothwell by heart, and for a long time everything he did came out like a weak reflection of your work" (Berg Collection, The New York Public Library). Although Swinburne's response to Runciman is not extant, it is apparent that the poet read the manuscripts. On Dec 8 Henley wrote to Nichols: "Jim has had a letter from Swinburne speaking highly of my *Love By the Sea*—the old Margate Song-Cycle,—& affirming me 'de la famille'" (HM 30923).

PETER S. BRACHER

## Harper & Brothers: Publishers of Dickens

ALTHOUGH Charles Dickens was one of the most popular authors to be published in the United States in the nineteenth century, little effort has been made thus far to trace the complexities of the publication of his works in America. A comprehensive history of these matters would deal with the New York City firm of Harper & Brothers. For nearly thirty years—beginning in 1842—the Harpers published in one form or another all of Dickens' major works and most of his minor writing. Taking advantage of the absence of international copyright laws, the firm aggressively and successfully exploited Dickens' popularity. Unlike most instances of American "piracies," however, this one proved beneficial to Dickens. A history of this association provides a valuable picture both of mid-nineteenth-century American publishing practices and of the ways in which Dickens became an integral part of the experience of literate Americans.

When the Harpers began publishing Dickens in 1842, he was already an extraordinarily popular writer. His five novels and other writings had been widely circulated in the United States through the efforts of a dozen or more piratical publishers. His work had also been exploited by the publishers of the so-called "mammoth" weeklies, which in the early 1840s rapidly republished the most popular British fiction. In fact, these journals were engaged in what can be called a "cheap books war" with reputable firms such as Harpers.<sup>1</sup> In this highly competitive situation and on the heels of Dickens' triumphant tour of America in the first six months of 1842, Harper & Brothers decided to join the pirates and issue Dickens' eagerly awaited account of his travels, which promised to be the publishing sensation of the year. And so in early November 1842, *American Notes* appeared bearing the Harper imprint—a slim, paper-covered volume selling for twelve and a half cents.<sup>2</sup>

1 See Frederic Hudson *Journalism in the United States from 1690 to 1872* (NY: Harper 1873) 587; J. Henry Harper *House of Harper: A Century of Publishing in Franklin Square* (NY: Harper 1912) 75, cited hereafter as "Harper"; and Raymond Shove *Cheap Book Production in the United States, 1870-1891* (Urbana: Univ of Illinois Library 1937) vi-vii.

2 The book is described by Herman LeRoy Edgar and R. W. G. Vail "Early American Editions of the Works of Charles Dickens," *BNYPL* 33 (1929) 308. They erroneously label it the first edition.

1, DEVONSHIRE TERRACE, YORK GATE, REGENT'S PARK,

*Seventh July, 1842.*

*My Dear Baskin.*

You may perhaps be aware that during my stay in America, I lost no opportunity of endeavouring to awaken the public mind to a sense of the unjust and iniquitous state of the law in that country, in reference to the wholesale piracy of British works.

Having been successful in making the subject one of general discussion in the United States, I carried to Washington, for presentation to Congress by Mr. Clay, a petition from the whole body of American authors, earnestly praying for the enactment of an International Copyright Law. It was signed by Mr. Washington Irving, Mr. Prescott, Mr. Cooper, and every man who has distinguished himself in the literature of America, and has since been referred to a Select Committee of the House of Representatives.

To counteract any effect which might be produced by that petition, a meeting was held in Boston—which you will remember is the seat and stronghold of Learning and Letters in the United States—at which a memorial against any change in the existing state of things in this respect was agreed to, with but one dissentient voice. This document, which, incredible as it may appear to you, was actually forwarded to Congress, and received, deliberately stated that if English authors were invested with any controul over the republication of their own books, it would be no longer possible for American editors to alter and adapt them (as they do now) to the American taste!

This memorial was, without loss of time, replied to by Mr. Prescott, who commented, with the natural indignation of a gentleman, and a Man of Letters, upon its extraordinary dishonesty. I am satisfied that this brief mention of its tone and spirit, is sufficient to impress you with the conviction that it becomes all those who are in any way connected with the Literature of England, to take that high stand, to which the nature of their pursuits, and the extent of their sphere of usefulness, justly entitle them; to discourage the upholders of such doctrines by every means in their power; and to hold themselves aloof from the remotest participation in a system, from which the moral sense and honourable feeling of all just men must instinctively recoil.

Dickens raising the dickens: a circular letter of 1842 protesting American piracies—  
*Berg Collection*

For myself, I have resolved that I will never from this time enter into any negotiation with any person for the transmission, across the Atlantic, of early proofs of any thing I may write ; and that I will forego all profit derivable from such a source. I do not venture to urge this line of proceeding upon you, but I would beg to suggest, and to lay great stress upon the necessity of observing, one other course of action : to which I cannot too emphatically call your attention.

The persons who exert themselves to mislead the American public on this question ; to put down its discussion ; and to suppress and distort the truth, in reference to it, in every possible way ; are (as you may easily suppose) those who have a strong interest in the existing system of piracy and plunder ; inasmuch as, so long as it continues, they can gain a very comfortable living out of the brains of other men, while they would find it very difficult to earn bread by the exercise of their own. These are the editors and proprietors of newspapers almost exclusively devoted to the republication of popular English works. They are, for the most part, men of very low attainments and of more than indifferent reputation ; and I have frequently seen them, in the same sheet in which they boast of the rapid sale of many thousand copies of an English reprint, coarsely and insolently attacking the author of that very book, and heaping scurrility and slander upon his head.

I would therefore entreat you, in the name of the honourable pursuit with which you are so intimately connected, never to hold correspondence with any of these men, and never to negotiate with them for the sale of early proofs of any work over which you have control ; but to treat, on all occasions, with some respectable American publishing house, and with such an establishment only.

Our common interest in this subject, and my advocacy of it, single-handed, on every occasion that has presented itself during my absence from Europe, form my excuse for addressing you,

And I am,

Faithfully yours,

CHARLES DICKENS.



It was not an auspicious beginning. The bulk of the market was monopolized by the editions rushed into print by two of New York's "mammoth" weeklies, the *New World* and *Brother Jonathan*. Less than twenty-four hours after the *Notes* arrived in New York, thousands of copies of these inexpensive and hastily printed quartos were flooding the bookshops.<sup>3</sup> Even so, the initial issue of the Harper edition, as reported by one New York journalist, was not without excitement:

We happened to be in Cliff Street yesterday just as the first copies of the Harper edition, well-printed and neatly bound, were given out to a swarm of boys, whose clamor and crowding to be early served made up a very fair representation of Babel on a reduced scale. The little vendors were as eager as though there had not been a copy out, notwithstanding the issue of two large editions from the offices of the *New World* and *Brother Jonathan*.<sup>4</sup>

Within a month William Hickling Prescott was writing to Dickens, "Your own book has risen to the honour of the press under the Harpers, who are obliged to sell or rather sacrifice it at the ninepenny price of Bagmen's editions."<sup>5</sup> The most aggressive and successful of the "bagmen"—the editor of the *New World*—delighted in the opportunity to taunt his more reputable but less successful competitor. Surmising that the Harpers had entered the business of cheap republication "with the intention of injuring our sales," he accused "these highly respectable publishers" of a "grasping and monopolizing" spirit and threatened protective action:

If we see much more of this, we will instantly set to work and republish all the most valuable books in their lists, at a cost barely sufficient to cover the smallest expenses—viz: compositors' wages, paper, ink and press work. We rather think we could give most of their dollar books for sixpence a piece. We have no desire to do this . . . We shall, however, not fail to protect ourselves, and to retaliate any injury that may be threatened or inflicted.<sup>6</sup>

Neither the experience nor the threats were sufficiently discouraging to drive the Harpers out of the market. When *Martin Chuzzlewit* began its monthly appearances in January 1843, the firm again pirated Dickens. The competition was intense enough that the Harpers sent newsboys into the streets of New York to hawk their monthly numbers.<sup>7</sup> But unlike

3 For a reasonably detailed and accurate account of the arrival and publication of *American Notes* in the United States, see the *New York Herald* (Nov 7–11 1842).

4 *New York Commercial Advertiser* (Nov 9 1842) 2.

5 Dec 1 1842, *Correspondence of William Hickling Prescott, 1833–1847*, ed Roger Wolcott (Boston: Houghton Mifflin 1925) 323.

6 *New World* 5 (Nov 12 1842) 319; see also 5 (Dec 17 1842) 399.

7 Harper, p 77 William H. Demarest, a long-time Harper employee, recalled: "The sale of this work in numbers were [*sic*] chiefly by newsboys, then a new institution. The store was filled with them, and upon one occasion, while waiting for the delivery of the numbers, Mr. James Harper spoke to them." (See *Harpers Catalogue*, a ledger compiled by William H. Demarest, in the archives of Harper & Row, New York, p 108. I am indebted to Harper & Row for permission to examine this and other archive materials, and wish to

some other publishers, they continued to issue the novel to its very end, even though the story turned out to be highly offensive to many American readers. The monthly numbers were gathered into a complete one-volume edition published in July 1844. By this time the "mammoths" were close to extinction. As publishers of Dickens, the Harpers were left to compete more comfortably with such respectable and established firms as Lea & Blanchard of Philadelphia, Dickens' first American publishers, and Wiley & Putnam, another New York company.

Throughout the rest of the 1840s, the Harpers worked to establish themselves as leading publishers of Dickens. Despite the resentment and even vituperation generated by *American Notes* and *Martin Chuzzlewit*, Dickens' popularity in America did not dwindle as greatly as has sometimes been supposed. Like their competitors, the Harpers continued to reprint most of Dickens' work as it appeared, issuing his five Christmas books in due course although not his account of his Italian travels. Dickens' next two novels, *Dombey and Son* (1846–48) and *David Copperfield* (1849–50), were not printed by the Harpers until 1852, when they appeared in a format uniform with that of *Bleak House*, being issued in numbers. These books, like all the American editions of Dickens' work then published, were issued without authorization from the author and, with one minor exception, without remuneration to him.<sup>8</sup> After his visit to the United States in 1842, Dickens declined to continue the arrangements with American publishers that had once brought him modest payments from Carey, Lea & Blanchard and its successor firm, Lea & Blanchard.<sup>9</sup> Without the author's cooperation, formal arrangements for republication were impossible, even had an American firm wished to make them. Pirating continued unchecked, and Dickens had every reason to observe that had there been international copyright agreements, "I should have been a man of very large fortune, instead of a man of moderate savings, always supporting a very expensive position."<sup>10</sup> But within a few years the Harpers would take the lead in altering for the better the basis on which the work of British authors was reprinted in America.

The 1850s, declared a critic in the *Knickerbocker*, were the "very hey-day" of Dickens' re-

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express particular thanks to Mrs Beulah Hagen for her courtesy and assistance.) Commenting on the "dirt-cheap" price for which "entertaining and popular works" were then available, Lewis Gaylord Clark noted that Harper's *Martin Chuzzlewit* "with plates, up to the last 'part' received, is published . . . for a six-pence!" (*Knickerbocker* [May 21 1843] 500).

8 Harper's *Priority List*, a ledger listing payments to foreign authors in the archives of Harper & Row, shows that on Dec 14 1848 the firm paid Dickens £5 for

*The Haunted Man*

9 Charles Dickens "International Copyright," from the *Examiner* (London) July 16 1842, *Collected Papers* (Bloomsbury: Nonesuch Press 1937) 1 142–43; Henry C. Lea to George W. Childs, May 10 1867, *American Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular* 9 (May 15 1867) 36; and Charles Dickens to Lea & Blanchard, Dec 28 1842, *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, ed Walter Dexter (Bloomsbury: Nonesuch Press 1938) 1 496.

10 Charles Dickens to James T. Fields, Oct 1867, *Letters* III 556.

noun,<sup>11</sup> and the beginning of that decade marks the commencement of a new phase in the association of Dickens and Harper & Brothers. At the end of March 1850, Dickens launched his new weekly periodical, *Household Words*, and in June the Harpers published the first issue of their *New Illustrated Monthly Magazine*. Both were immediate successes. And for *Harper's Monthly* it was something more than a happy coincidence that the two journals prospered together. The *Monthly* owed much to Dickens both directly and indirectly, for he became a major source of material that could be counted upon to build the circulation of this new venture in mass-circulation periodical publishing. For the Harpers there was a new method of and a new value in exploiting Dickens' writing. From Dickens' point of view there was also an important change. Beginning with the republication of *Bleak House* in 1852, the Harpers reprinted Dickens' work by arrangement and with payment to the author. Harper & Brothers became in a sense, though not formally, Dickens' official American publisher. The firm was able to maintain this position for more than a decade, until James T. Fields persuaded Dickens to join the Ticknor & Fields list of distinguished authors and to recognize publicly the Boston firm as his authorized American publisher.

The history of this phase of the association between Dickens and the Harpers is primarily an account of magazine publishing. *Harper's Monthly* began as an eclectic reprint journal drawing primarily on British sources. The "Word at the Start" in the first issue invoked Dickens' *Household Words*, "through which he is giving to the world some of the most exquisite and delightful creations that ever came from his magic pen," and promised readers to "transfer to its pages as rapidly as they may be issued all the continuous tales of Dickens, Bulwer, Croly, Lever, Warren, and other distinguished contributors to British periodicals."<sup>12</sup> At the time the *Monthly* began, *David Copperfield* was still in progress, and it was impossible to launch the new journal with a continued story by Dickens. But next best to a Dickens serial, and readily available, was *Household Words*. And so the first issue of the *Monthly* contained Dickens' "A Child's Dream of a Star" anonymously reprinted from the second issue of *Household Words*. Readers were also offered Mrs Gaskell's story "Lizzie Leigh," erroneously attributed to Dickens. In addition, seven other acknowledged borrowings from early issues of *Household Words* were included in the first issue of the *Monthly*—though none of them was by Dickens. The pattern for the next several years was established.

Substantial borrowings from *Household Words* supported the *Monthly* during its first two years and began to taper off only after the serialization of *Bleak House* began in 1852. Whenever possible the *Monthly* carried items by and attributed to Dickens, usually bor-

11 F. W. Shelton "On the Genius of Charles Dickens" *Knickerbocker* 39 (May 1852) 421.

12 *Harper's Monthly* 1 (June 1850) 1.

rowed from *Household Words*. In addition, great numbers of other articles and stories from Dickens' weekly appeared each month—occasionally including one of Dickens' infrequent and anonymous contributions. The borrowing was heaviest in the second issue of the *Monthly*, when fifteen items (though none by Dickens himself) were reprinted. During the first year *Household Words* supplied an average of seven items an issue, and the next year an average of four or five an issue; thereafter the average dropped to less than two items an issue. The last appearance in the *Monthly* of material from *Household Words* was in November 1856. After the first year, borrowings from *Household Words* appeared without acknowledgment of the source. However, the editors missed no opportunity for attributing material to Dickens, and in their zeal to employ the magic name, they sometimes made erroneous attributions. Clearly the *Monthly* owed much to Dickens the editor, for his *Household Words* proved to be a handy prop for the new Harper venture.

No doubt a major factor in the success of the *Monthly* was its well-kept pledge to reprint the serial stories of popular British novelists. This intention was reiterated at the beginning of the third volume, and readers were once more enticed with promises of "copious selections from the current periodical literature of the day, with tales of the most distinguished authors, such as Dickens, Bulwer, Lever, and others—chosen always for their literary merit, popular interest, and general utility."<sup>13</sup> In this context Dickens had a much more direct and important role to play in the success of *Harper's Monthly*. As soon as he began a new novel—in this case, *Bleak House* (1852–53)—it was reprinted in the *Monthly*. In due course it was succeeded by *Little Dorrit* (1856–57). Dickens did not, however, appear again in the *Monthly* until June 1864, when serialization of *Our Mutual Friend* (1864–65) began.

Bearing in mind the pattern of borrowing material by Dickens and material from *Household Words* in the early volumes of *Harper's Monthly*, it is not difficult to see why sneering contemporaries referred to the new journal as the "Buccaneer's Bag" and "The Monthly Corn-Plaster."<sup>14</sup> But it is also easy to exaggerate the frequency and importance of Dickens' contributions to the *Monthly*, as F. L. Pattee did some years ago, when he remarked that the magazine was "founded . . . with Dickens as its major reason for being."<sup>15</sup> Although Dickens undeniably made a significant contribution to the success of the *Monthly*, both as an author and as an editor, Pattee's generalization must be regarded as a flattering overstatement.

13 Advertisement, *Harper's Monthly* (June 1851).

14 E. Douglas Branch *The Sentimental Years, 1836–1860* (NY: D. Appleton-Century 1934) 113. A rival editor, George R. Graham, who tried to support American authors, put the point more subtly. "Harper," he

noted, "is a good foreign magazine. . . ." (*Graham's Magazine* 38 [Mar 1851] 280).

15 Fred Lewis Pattee *The Feminine Fifties* (NY: D. Appleton-Century 1940) 68.

In 1857 Harper & Brothers undertook a second venture in mass-circulation periodical publishing—*Harper's Weekly*, patterned after the *Illustrated London News* and the American journal *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. Although conceived of as a weekly news magazine with numerous illustrations as its special feature, *Harper's Weekly*, like the *Monthly*, was to have as an important ingredient continuous stories by leading British and American writers. Once again, Dickens was an obviously desirable author to feature in the new periodical. When the *Weekly* began, Dickens' current novel, *Little Dorrit*, was still being serialized in the *Monthly*, but before the year was out his *Lazy Tour of Two Idle Apprentices* was reprinted from *Household Words*, adding a little Dickensian spice to the first volume of the *Weekly*. Thus began a long series of appearances by Dickens in the *Weekly* which parallel closely the emphasis upon Dickens characteristic of the early years of the *Monthly*. *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859) was followed by *Great Expectations* (1860–61), and to these were added the annual Christmas stories and the first series of *Uncommercial Traveller* pieces (1860). Dickens' last novel—the unfinished *Mystery of Edwin Drood* (1870)—also appeared in the *Weekly*, in a special monthly “Dickens Supplement.”

The *Weekly* began with every appearance of following the editorial pattern of the *Monthly* during its first couple of years of existence—that is, filling columns with material from *Household Words*. Thus, in January 1857, a three-part story from Dickens' weekly was reprinted, and another item appeared at the end of the month. And the first serial story in the *Weekly*—Wilkie Collins' *The Dead Secret*—was borrowed from *Household Words*. But the practice did not last long. The strongly American orientation of the magazine and its special editorial formula—news plus illustrations plus regular features and departments plus serial fiction—left little room for the kind of short, general articles and for the short fiction that Dickens published in *Household Words*. And despite the implications of the *Weekly*'s claim in 1861 that its readers “enjoy the benefit of everything that appears” in *All the Year Round*—the successor to *Household Words*—“a fortnight or more before the regular copies reach this country,”<sup>16</sup> the *Weekly* was far from an American version of Dickens' magazine. Thus his chief contribution to the success of the *Weekly* was as an author—not as an editor.

Altogether the Harpers' venture into the periodical field was hugely successful. Both journals established themselves quickly and within a few years had circulations of well over 100,000. There is always the danger of stressing too strongly the importance of Dickens'

<sup>16</sup> *Harper's Weekly* 5 (Jan 12 1861) 17.

contribution to this success. However, there is a distinctive and recurring pattern in the publication of his work that suggests it was consciously exploited to take maximum advantage of his immense popularity and to ensure by this means the success of the Harper periodicals. Clearly, Dickens seems to have been used as a circulation builder: the frequency of his appearances in the *Monthly* declined when the magazine was well established, and beginning in 1857 with the introduction of the *Weekly*, his writing with one important exception was consistently published in the newer journal. The exception was *Our Mutual Friend*, which appeared in the *Monthly* in 1864 and 1865. This was apparently part of a conscious effort to save the *Monthly* from extinction. As a result of the Civil War, its circulation had fallen off so severely that the firm was seriously contemplating discontinuing it altogether. *Our Mutual Friend*—and the added attraction six months later of Wilkie Collins' *Armada*—helped restore the *Monthly*'s circulation to its former level.<sup>17</sup> This incident not only testifies to the potency of serial fiction but demonstrates how Dickens as the most popular novelist of his day could make a real difference in the success of a periodical in which his work was published. Interestingly, the editors of the Harper magazines employed Dickens essentially as Dickens the editor used Dickens the writer and for chiefly the same reasons. *A Tale of Two Cities* was serialized in *All the Year Round* to assure the success of that new venture. The results were spectacular: by the fifth number the circulation of the new magazine was three times that of its predecessor, *Household Words*. *Great Expectations*—originally conceived of as a full-scale novel in twenty monthly parts—became instead a weekly serial in *All the Year Round* because Dickens needed a story that would halt a declining circulation brought on by an unpopular serial by Charles Lever.<sup>18</sup> The value and the results of publishing Dickens seem to have been the same on both sides of the Atlantic.

The Harpers' interest in Dickens during the 1850s did not, however, depend exclusively on his usefulness as a circulation builder for their new periodicals, for they were still in the book business. Soon after initiating the *Monthly*, the firm found itself almost the only important publisher of Dickens in America as its major competitors voluntarily withdrew from the market. Lea & Blanchard, who with their predecessors had published Dickens for more than fifteen years, sold their Dickens plates to Getz, Buck & Co, another Philadelphia firm, in 1851.<sup>19</sup> About the same time John Wiley and George Palmer Putnam dissolved their partner-

17 Harper, p 165.

18 Edgar Johnson *Charles Dickens: His Tragedy and Triumph* (NY: Simon and Schuster 1952) 946, 964–66

19 Henry C. Lea to George W. Childs, May 10 1867 *American Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular* 9 (May 15 1867) 36

ship.<sup>20</sup> Almost by default Harper & Brothers became during the 1850s the primary purveyor of Dickens' new work in America, and in addition to periodical serialization the firm continued to publish some of Dickens' work in book form. *Bleak House* was not only serialized in the *Monthly* but issued in separate monthly numbers and in a two-volume complete edition. *Hard Times* appeared in a one-volume edition in 1854. A number of the annual Christmas stories were issued as separate publications, and *Our Mutual Friend* was made available in both one- and two-volume editions. However, the firm did not publish *Little Dorrit*, *A Tale of Two Cities*, or *Great Expectations*, even though all were serialized in the Harper magazines. In book form Dickens was apparently less important than he had been in the 1840s.

This seemingly casual attitude toward publishing Dickens in book form can probably be attributed to two factors in the shifting publication patterns of the period—at least as they apply to Dickens. First, as we have seen, after 1850 Dickens' work consistently reached the public first in periodicals with large circulations. To publish subsequently in book form a novel that had been widely serialized was not likely to be very profitable and could even be risky.<sup>21</sup> Secondly, after 1850 Dickens' work was most readily available in book form in collected editions. Although Americans could buy a uniform edition of Dickens' work issued by Lea & Blanchard as early as 1842,<sup>22</sup> this was not a common format during the first two decades of Dickens' career. Lea & Blanchard kept this edition in print and up to date, but the uniform edition did not become the standard way of publishing Dickens in America until the 1850s—following, no doubt, the example of the so-called "Cheap Edition" of Dickens published in England by Chapman and Hall between 1847 and 1852. There can be little doubt that between serialization on the one hand and collected editions on the other, the market for individual books that were not uniform with an available set was limited.

The Harpers did not choose at this time to involve themselves in the business of publishing collected editions of Dickens. We can surmise that at least two considerations contributed to their decision. First, they did not own plates for a significant body of Dickens' work—the material published prior to 1842—and presumably did not wish to make such an investment when other firms already owned plates for these books. Secondly, to have under-

20 *The First One Hundred and Fifty Years: A History of John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 1807-1957* (NY: John Wiley & Sons 1957) 20.

21 A case in point is *A Tale of Two Cities*, published in book form by T. B. Peterson & Brothers of Philadelphia by special arrangements with the Harpers. In a letter to J. W. Harper, Jr, Nov. 22, 1860, the Petersons

reported, "*Tale of Two Cities* was a failure and loss to us, never having made on it what we paid you for it." See the *Harper Contract Book*, Harper & Row archives, New York 1 377.

22 William Glyde Wilkins *First and Early American Editions of the Works of Charles Dickens* (Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press 1910) 20-22.

taken the publication of a collected edition of Dickens would not only have been expensive but a sort of infringement of the rights of other firms. By the 1850s American publishers had imposed a degree of stability on the once chaotic and destructively competitive business of publishing the uncopyrighted work of popular British authors. Through tacit and informal agreements, the publishers who had paid for advance sheets of an author's work had exclusive rights to it. Other publishers already had a claim on Dickens' early work, and to have violated these claims would have invited infringements of Harper's "rights" to Dickens' later work. Under these circumstances the Harpers chose to ally themselves with the chief "owner" of the "rights" to Dickens' early books—T. B. Peterson & Brothers of Philadelphia. The Petersons had succeeded to the ownership of the Lea & Blanchard Dickens plates. These became the nucleus of some two dozen exhaustively complete collected editions which by the late 1850s had made the Petersons the chief publisher of uniform editions of Dickens in America.

It was to this firm that Harpers left the publication in book form of *Little Dorrit*, *A Tale of Two Cities*, and *Great Expectations*. The Petersons published these books by special arrangement with Harpers. The Philadelphia firm received copies of advance sheets in return for paying part of the original "purchase money" and buying the stereotype plates and illustrations made for each novel by Harpers.<sup>23</sup> Thus, indirectly the Petersons had a quasi-official status as "authorized" publishers of Dickens. Under the "usages of trade" at the time they could claim that their new green cloth edition of 1867 was the "author's American Edition" on the grounds that they "in connection with Harper and Brothers, New York, are the only publishers in America of the works of Charles Dickens that have ever paid anything for the manuscripts and advanced sheets of his various works."<sup>24</sup> These claims—and the pretensions—are a little extravagant, but they help explain why Harpers grew increasingly indifferent to publishing Dickens in book form. More importantly, they also point to the significant fact about the association of Harper & Brothers and Dickens in the 1850s and 1860s: it was based upon formal agreements and the payment of significant sums of money.

Although Harper's *Monthly* in its early years had deservedly earned the nickname

23 T. B. Peterson & Brothers to George W. Childs, May 25 1867, *American Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular* 9 (June 1 1867) 68–69; see also 8 (Apr 15 1867) 348–49 quoting the *Philadelphia Press* (Apr 12 1867). The first volume of the *Harper Contract Book* (p 377) contains a letter from T. B. Peterson & Brothers to J. W. Harper, Jr (Nov 22 1860) offering to pay \$2,500 for the plates to *Great Expectations*. The *Harper*

*Catalogue*, p 109, records the following payments by the Petersons to Harper's for plates and woodcuts: *Bleak House*, \$1151.25; *Dombey and Son*, \$1226.25; *David Copperfield*, \$1165.50; "Christmas Tales," \$428.25; *Hard Times*, \$306; and *Little Dorrit*, \$2649.56.

24 *American Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular* 8 (Apr 1 1867) 325–26.



"Buccaneer's Bag," to regard the Harpers' reprinting of Dickens after 1850 as a simple continuation of the piracy of the 1840s is inaccurate and unfair. Formal arrangements replaced the high-handed and unjust privateering of the earlier era. But these new arrangements were undoubtedly prompted more by motives of profit and self-interest than by any generous move to rectify the injustices of the international copyright situation.<sup>25</sup> According to one story it was nothing more than simple competition that impelled the Harpers to make their first arrangements with Dickens. Soon after the *Monthly* began publication, the *International Monthly Magazine* appeared, announcing strikingly similar objectives: "to present to the public with the utmost rapidity and at the cheapest possible rate, the best works of Popular Literature which are appearing abroad in serial, or in separate chapters."<sup>26</sup> Its editors also recognized the value of Dickens and resorted to borrowing from *Household Words*. In an effort to outdo *Harper's Monthly*, they dispatched an agent to England to secure advance sheets of Dickens' next novel for publication in the *International* and then announced their as yet unconsummated coup in the *New York Evening Post* along with the intelligence that Mr Dickens would be paid \$2,000. The Harpers thereupon sent their own emissary on the next steamer with instructions to go immediately and directly to Dickens. Agreeable to a reasonable offer when shown the *Evening Post*, Dickens settled for the \$2,000 proposed by the *International's* publishers, and Harper & Brothers thereby acquired the advance sheets of *Bleak House*. The *International's* agent made the mistake of going to Dickens' publishers instead of to Dickens himself.<sup>27</sup>

Whether or not this story is wholly accurate,<sup>28</sup> it unquestionably evokes the spirit of the period. It reflects the competitive nature of American publishing, the premium placed upon popular serial fiction, and the special appeal and value of Dickens that must have encouraged Harper's to negotiate formal arrangements with Dickens in an effort to maintain a com-

25 Although a respected publishing house, Harper & Brothers was not without a reputation for exploiting uncopyrighted material and squashing those who tried to compete too directly with them. The Harpers were sharp businessmen and self-interest was a primary motive in their decision to pay British authors and, many years later, to support passage of an international copyright law. See, for example, *American Whig Review* 13 (Jan 1851) 68-69. For an early example of the Harpers' cut-throat treatment of competitors, see Frederick Saunders "The Early History of the International Copyright Movement in America" (1888) Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library. A particularly vitriolic attack on the grasping nature of

the Harpers can be found in [Eugene L. Didier] *American Publishers and English Authors* (Baltimore: Eugene L. Didier 1879) 18-19. Didier denounces the "book-aneering career" of "that highly respectable and eminently pious band of brothers, the Harpies," whose firm "has stood preeminently prominent in the picking and stealing business for more than half a century."

26 *International Monthly Magazine* 1 (July 1850) 1.

27 *Nation* 4 (Apr 25 1867) 328.

28 Eugene Exman *The Brothers Harper: A Unique Publishing Partnership and Its Impact upon the Cultural Life of America from 1817 to 1853* (NY: Harper & Row 1965) 309-10.

petitive advantage. The net result for Dickens was a substantial sum of money in the course of the next decade and a half. For *Bleak House* he received from Harper's £360; for *Little Dorrit*, £250; for *A Tale of Two Cities* and *Our Mutual Friend*, £1,000; and for *Great Expectations*, £1,250—approximately \$20,000.<sup>29</sup> No British writer commanded higher payments at that time,<sup>30</sup> and the firm's willingness to increase its offers to maintain its competitive stance is dramatically illustrated by the efforts to arrange for early copy of *Edwin Drood*. For this novel the Harpers made a firm offer of £2,000 and indicated a willingness to go higher if necessary. Dickens, however, had a prior commitment to James T. Fields, and Harper's resorted once more to pirating the novel in the *Weekly*.<sup>31</sup> In addition to these payments for individual novels, the Harpers also undertook to pay an annual fee of £250 for the rights to reprint material from advance sheets of *All the Year Round*.<sup>32</sup> This policy of generous payment gave Harper's a virtual monopoly on Dickens that was broken only when James T. Fields decided to employ personal friendship as well as cash in an effort to add Dickens to his firm's list. By the end of the Civil War, Fields was well on his way to success, and within a couple of years he had brought to an end Harper's domination of the Dickens market, even if he did not end the association.<sup>33</sup>

Publishing uncopyrighted material was always a risky business. As Fields's success dem-

29 These figures come from the Harper *Priority List*. Except that the payment for *Bleak House* is said to be £400, these figures also appear in Harper & Brothers to T. B. Peterson & Brothers (May 21 1867), *American Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular* 9 (June 1 1867) 69 n. Harper's *Weekly* 2 (Jan 2 1858) 2, claimed that payment for *Little Dorrit* was \$2,000, apparently either an error or an exaggeration. Similarly, a T. B. Peterson advertisement, *American Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular* 7 (Aug 17 1861) 239-40, reported erroneously that Dickens was paid £1,000 for *Great Expectations*. Eugene Exman reports that by 1867 Harper's had paid Dickens nearly \$29,000 (£3,900); see *The House of Harper: One Hundred and Fifty Years of Publishing* (NY: Harper & Row 1967) 56. This includes payments for periodical material, such as the £5 recorded in the *Priority List* as payment on Dec 13 1851 for "Christmas Tales."

30 In fact, Harper's *Priority List* shows that in this era, the only payment to exceed those made to Dickens was the £1,700 paid to George Eliot for *Daniel Deronda* in 1876.

31 Harper, p 261-62 and Exman, *House of Harper*, p 58-59. The Harper *Priority List* shows no payment

for *Edwin Drood*, although it was serialized in the *Weekly* and published in book form. Harper did not have exclusive serial rights, as Exman seems to imply. The novel was serialized at irregular intervals in Fields's weekly magazine, *Every Saturday*, where it appeared about two weeks in advance of the Harper monthly installments. It was also serialized by Appleton's *Magazine*.

32 Gerald G. Grubb "Personal and Business Relations of Charles Dickens and Thomas Coke Evans" *Dickensian* 48 (1952) 170 n. See also Harper's *Weekly* 4 (Nov 24 1860) 740. The Harper *Priority List* shows payments of £250 for *All the Year Round* in 1860, 1861, and 1862. In addition special payments of £25 are recorded for the *All the Year Round* Christmas stories on Nov 30 1859, Dec 4 1860, and Dec 3 1863.

33 For discussion of Fields's campaign to add Dickens to his firm's list, see W. S. Tryon *Parnassus Corner: A Life of James T. Fields, Publisher to the Victorians* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin 1963) 301-08; and Carl J. Weber *The Rise and Fall of James R. Osgood: A Biography* (Waterville: Colby College Press 1959) 72-75.

onstrates, extra-legal "usages of trade" and "rights" meant little if a shrewd or unscrupulous or aggressive publisher chose to ignore them. A successful publisher was always fair game. Fields did not hesitate to invade Harper's territory, and the Harpers ignored the "rights" of others when it suited their purposes. Publishers engaged in an elaborate game in which a good bit of pious public posturing and outraged virtue was used to mask self-serving publishing practices. Despite a long record of fair dealing with Dickens, Harper & Brothers was no better than the competition when a writer of his celebrity was involved. At various times the firm was both victim and victimizer. A good example surfaced in the pages of the *Weekly* in late 1857. The *New York Tribune* (published by Horace Greeley, a leading editorial advocate of international copyright) reprinted from the pages of *Harper's Monthly* Thackeray's *The Virginians*, for which the Harpers had paid \$2,000. A "Publisher's Card" promptly appeared in the *Weekly*, revealing the full extent of the outrage and noting that "the same parties, under the same circumstances, reprinted upon us Mr. Dicken's 'Little Dorrit,' for which we paid the author Two Thousand Dollars. No American Publisher can afford to give two thousand dollars for early sheets of a foreign work which is instantly reprinted upon him by a rival in business."<sup>34</sup> This dispute raged for some weeks, but it was pretty much a matter of the pot calling the kettle black. The Harpers did not deserve much sympathy, noted *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, for they had ruined T. L. McElrath, the son of Greeley's partner, by pirating Dickens' *Hard Times*, for advance sheets of which McElrath had paid \$1,500.<sup>35</sup>

Despite such irregularities and whatever their motives, the Harpers must be credited with making significant strides in the equitable treatment of foreign writers. Certainly Dickens had no complaints, and in 1870—just months before his death—he wrote to the Harpers that he "had always been highly satisfied with my transactions with you."<sup>36</sup> The relationship between Dickens and Harper & Brothers was essentially one of business, with none of

34 *Harper's Weekly* 1 (Nov 28, Dec 26 1857) 753, 818. See also Harper, p 115-16. *Little Dorrit* began monthly serialization in the *Weekly Tribune* on Dec 22 1855. At that time the *Tribune* claimed (p 4) that it printed from copy secured by its agent in London and received by the steamer *Baltic*.

35 *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* 5 (Dec 5 1857) 6. For the *Tribune's* version of the affair, see the *New York Weekly Tribune* (Dec 5 1857) 5. See also Exman *House of Harper*, p 56. Young McElrath pub-

lished an American edition of *Household Words* and planned to publish the book complete after its serialization. The *Tribune* made indirect editorial reference to the affair at the time it happened; see *New York Tribune* (Aug 28 1854) 4. See also Norton's *Literary Gazette*, n.s. 1 (June 1 1854) 294.

36 To Harper & Brothers (Mar 1870), quoted Harper, p 262. See also Dickens to Harper & Brothers (Nov 13 1869) *Letters* III 750.

the personal friendship that characterized the author-publisher relationship that James T. Fields sought with Dickens. And for both parties, the benefits derived largely from the business arrangements they entered into over the years. However, an account of the association would not be complete without a glance at the opinions about Dickens expressed in the pages of the Harper magazines. These periodicals not only greatly increased the circulation of Dickens' writing in the United States but also influenced American opinion about Dickens and his books. As an author and as a public figure, Dickens received considerable editorial attention in both magazines.

As a news magazine, Harper's *Weekly* took a special interest in the non-literary aspect of Dickens' life and personality. His domestic troubles provided slightly scandalous tidbits of news during the summer of 1858; rumors that Dickens would present his public readings in the United States were noted and the project applauded.<sup>37</sup> Readers were fully supplied with details of the reading tour of 1867-68 and of Dickens' death less than three years later. Interest in Dickens the man did not stop with such reports, however. Both the *Weekly* and the *Monthly* were ready with opinions on almost anything Dickens did or said. He was lectured on his behavior as a visitor to America in 1842 and reminded that "it was hardly decent of him to accept the offerings and then snarl at the giver."<sup>38</sup> The *Monthly* declared that discussion of his religious views was the most natural thing in the world, for what could "concern us more" than the "religious character" of a "friend." His public utterances were scrutinized for signs of apostasy from the democratic faith. His behavior was constantly appraised, sometimes unfairly, for often the standard he was expected to meet was the ideal established in his own books. Dickens' moral character seemed to be of nearly as much interest as his novels.<sup>39</sup>

And Dickens' writing was by no means overlooked. But the Harper magazines were not among the leading critical journals of the day, and the chief significance of their comments on Dickens is that conferred by a large circulation. The *Weekly*'s reviews of new books appeared rather irregularly. The *Monthly*, on the other hand, featured a regular and usually substantial new books department and often included additional comment on current lit-

37 See *Harper's Weekly* 2 (June 19, 26; July 3, 10, 24 1858) 391, 407, 423, 439, 471; see *Harper's Weekly* 2 (Sept 11 1858) 578, and 3 (Jan 22, Feb 19, Aug 20 1859) 50, 115, 531. See also *Harper's Monthly* 33 (Jan 1866) 120.

38 *Harper's Weekly* 2 (Sept 11 1858) 578. See also *Harper's Weekly* 3 (Jan 22, Feb 19, Aug 20 1859) 50,

115, 531; and *Harper's Monthly* 10 (Feb 1855) 409, and 22 (Dec 1860) 125-26.

39 *Harper's Monthly* 41 (Sept 1870) 623; *Harper's Weekly* 14 (Jan 22 1870) 51; *Harper's Weekly* 2 (July 24, Aug 21, 28, Sept 11 1858) 467, 531, 547, 578. See also 3 (Jan 22, Aug 20 1859) 50, 531; and 4 (Feb 4 1860) 67.

erature as well. But the *Monthly* did not systematically notice Dickens' new books, and even together the Harper magazines failed to review all of his work published after 1850. As this somewhat erratic record suggests, the columns of the firm's magazines were not simply devoted to promotion of the company's product. This fact is confirmed by the reviews themselves. Book reviewing was not at this time a highly developed art, and new book notices were often nothing but puffery calculated to please authors and publishers. In the case of Dickens, however, the Harper magazines did not dispense indiscriminate flattery. Although he usually received favorable attention, rarely were the notices more adulatory than those in other magazines.

There was, of course, some frankly promotional comment on Dickens. To describe the *Uncommercial Traveller* pieces as "intensely thrilling and affecting" or to claim that *Our Mutual Friend* was as "gushing and exuberant as any of his long list"<sup>40</sup> sounds more like advertising copy than disinterested critical evaluation. But generally the business and editorial offices appear to have worked independently. Comments on Dickens were often candid and not always to his advantage. Thackeray and George Eliot, for example, were judged more realistic than Dickens, whose handling of character tended to caricature. Dickens' skill at constructing plots as well as his ability to depict character drew censure.<sup>41</sup> As consistent advocates of literary realism, the Harper magazines were inclined to complain about Dickens' "unpleasant unreality."<sup>42</sup> But such failings were offset by his irresistible imaginative genius and the admiration generated by his books' moral and humanitarian values. Dickens was applauded as "the boldest and best friend of humanity, the truest partisan of truth, and the honestest partisan of honesty." His books were declared to be "the best and soundest instruction that mankind enjoys at the present day."<sup>43</sup> This relentlessly moral conception of Dickens' work was colored by a characteristically American concern for democratic values. Americans found it easy to associate humane ideals with democratic principles and so tended to feel a special affinity for Dickens, whose books were "pleas for humanity." He was regarded as "a true democrat" who "asserts the equal rights of men, and compels us to measure every man by his manhood."<sup>44</sup> In all, the Harper &

40 *Harper's Weekly* 4 (Mar 3 1860) 129, *Harper's Monthly* 29 (Aug 1864) 407.

41 *Harper's Monthly* 18 (Dec 1858) 125. See also *Harper's Weekly* 1 (Nov 21 1857) 749-50, and 4 (May 12 1860) 294; *Harper's Monthly* 12 (Feb 1856) 382, and 41 (June 1870) 143.

42 *Harper's Monthly* 31 (Nov 1865) 809. See also

*Harper's Monthly* 23 (July 1861) 268; and *Harper's Weekly* 1 (Nov 21 1857) 750, and 5 (Feb 2 1861) 67.

43 *Harper's Weekly* 3 (Jan 22 1859) 50; 2 (Sept 11 1858) 578.

44 *Harper's Weekly* 11 (Dec 28 1867) 818; *Harper's Monthly* 31 (Nov 1865) 809.

Brothers magazines did much to shape public opinion about Dickens as a man as well as a writer.

Throughout Dickens' career, American publishers pirating popular British fiction were engaged in a risky and highly competitive business. This fact makes the very length of the association between Dickens and the Harpers noteworthy. Much of its importance, however, lies in the mutually beneficial nature of the business arrangements that were made. Although large sales in America did not mean large profits for Dickens, he did benefit substantially from the Harpers' increasingly generous payments for "rights" to his work. And there can be little doubt that indirectly his steady popularity in America, fed by large circulation of his books through Harper publications, helped make the reading tour of 1867-68 a highly profitable enterprise. Aside from financial considerations, Dickens must have taken some satisfaction in knowing that he had a large and faithful readership in the United States for which he owed something to the Harpers. And no doubt the Harpers' reasonably just treatment mellowed Dickens' view of American publishers—if it did not finally alter his basically jaundiced view of America's position on international copyright. On their side, the Harpers must have taken considerable satisfaction in their association with the leading British novelist of the day. It was surely a profitable relationship, and it contributed significantly to the success of the firm's two ventures into mass circulation magazine publishing.

The association had other consequences too. The Harpers, particularly through their periodicals, helped to sustain and probably to increase Dickens' unusual popularity in America. Indeed, the history of the Harpers' association with Dickens helps us to understand that the seemingly extravagant claims about his popularity and the number of his American readers are not as exaggerated as they sometimes appear to be. Publication in the *Monthly* or the *Weekly* must have widened Dickens' audience significantly, for the mails carried both journals to thousands of families west of the Alleghenies and in the less accessible parts of the South. Publication of a Dickens novel in one of the Harper magazines assured an initial circulation of 100,000 to 200,000, depending on when it appeared, and a far greater readership.<sup>45</sup> In fact, the Harper periodicals provided a continuing supply of readers. In the 1860s the most heavily read books in a small New England library, for example, were the bound volumes of the *Monthly*. So great was the demand that one set had been worn out and two

45 The circulation of both *Harper's Monthly* and *Harper's Weekly* reached or exceeded 100,000 within a couple of years of their founding. By the time of the Civil War the *Monthly* had a circulation of 200,000.

See Carl Bode *The Anatomy of American Popular Culture, 1840-1861* (Berkeley: Univ of California Press 1959) 260.

more sets were necessary to satisfy patrons. Indeed, only the old volumes of the *Monthly* were more popular than Dickens' novels themselves.<sup>46</sup> With some justice, *Harper's Weekly* could claim:

No man in the world is so well known or so generally admired in the United States as he. We have reason to know that, for one reader in England, he has ten here. We will go farther, and say, without fear of contradiction, that, for every copy of his works circulated in Great Britain, ten are printed and circulated here. Nor is he any where better appreciated or more thoroughly enjoyed than in the United States. The popularity of other men—natives or foreigners—authors, artists, poets, statesmen, philanthropists—sinks into insignificance in comparison with his.<sup>47</sup>

To this extraordinary American popularity Harper & Brothers made a significant contribution.

#### A CHECK LIST OF DICKENS' WORKS PUBLISHED BY HARPER & BROTHERS, 1842-1870

THIS CHECK LIST tries, in so far as possible, to record all writings by Dickens published by Harper & Brothers during his lifetime. Because complete publisher's records have not survived, this list can make no claim to absolute accuracy or completeness. Despite this problem, it seemed wise to provide enough information to distinguish, where necessary, different editions of the same work and to give a clear idea of the kinds of editions of Dickens the Harpers published. Therefore, using the best information available, I have tried to make each entry as full as possible, even though some entries are incomplete. Because I have not been able to examine individual items, I have not attempted a full bibliographical description of publications in book form. I have relied most heavily upon the *Harper Catalogue* compiled by William H. Demarest and now in the Harper & Row archives (see footnote 7). Demarest's *Catalogue* lists all Harper publications between 1817 and 1879, and he claims that each book published since 1830 "may be considered as fully represented." That statement seems to be nearly true, although Demarest's details are not always wholly accurate. Generally, I have relied on his information except where it was clearly contradicted by other

<sup>46</sup> Austin Abbot "A Village Library" *Harper's Monthly* 36 (May 1868) 776.      <sup>47</sup> *Harper's Weekly* 2 (Sept 11 1858) 578.

reliable sources. I have supplemented Demarest's *Catalogue* with information from numerous newspapers and periodicals of the period and from Herman LeRoy Edgar and R. W. G. Vail "Early American Editions of the Works of Charles Dickens" *BNYPL* 33 (1929) 302-19; William Glyde Wilkins *First and Early American Editions of the Works of Charles Dickens* (Cedar Rapids: Torch Press 1910); and Harry Stone, ed *Charles Dickens' Uncollected Writings from Household Words, 1850-1859* 2 vols (Bloomington: Indiana Univ Press 1968).

### Publications in Book Form

- 1842 *American Notes* 8°, 92 p, double col., paper covers, 12<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>¢, Nov 8
- 1843/44 *Martin Chuzzlewit* monthly numbers and in seven parts (each at 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>¢), each gathering three monthly numbers, 8°, double col., paper covers, Jan 1843 to July 1844
- 1844 *A Christmas Carol* 8°, 31 p, double col., paper covers, Feb  
*Martin Chuzzlewit* complete in one vol, 8°, 312 p, double col., cloth covers, 75¢, July
- 1845 *The Chimes* 8°, 31 p, double col., paper covers, Feb
- 1846 *The Cricket on the Hearth* 8°, 32 p, double col., paper covers, Jan
- 1847 *The Battle of Life* 8°, 31 p, Feb
- 1849 *The Haunted Man* 8°, 34 p, double col., paper covers, 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>¢, Jan 6  
 Collected edition of the Christmas books, 8°, cloth covers, 50¢
- 1852 *Dombey and Son* 2 vols, 12°, 509, 472 p, cloth covers, \$2.00, July 23  
*David Copperfield* 2 vols, 12°, 500, 454 p, cloth covers, \$2.00, Nov 19  
 Collected edition of the Christmas books, 12°, 305 p, Dec 10
- 1852/53 *Bleak House* monthly numbers, 12°, paper covers, 12<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>¢ each, Mar 17 1852 to Sept 21 1853
- 1853 *A Child's History of England, Vol. I* 16°, 286 p, cloth covers, 50¢, Mar 18  
*Bleak House* 2 vols, 12°, 494, 458 p, cloth covers, \$2.00, Sept 21
- 1854 *A Child's History of England, Vol II* 16°, 305 p, cloth covers, 50¢, Mar 25  
*Hard Times* 8°, 292 p, paper covers, 13¢, Aug 9; 12°, 282 p, cloth covers, 75¢, Dec 22
- 1859 *A House to Let* 5¢, advertised Jan 8
- 1863 *A Child's History of England* 2 vols, 16°, cloth covers, \$1.00, advertised Dec 1  
*Mrs. Lirriper's Lodgings* 8°, 47 p, paper covers, 10¢, Dec 14
- 1864 *Mrs. Lirriper's Legacy* 8°, 47 p, double col., paper covers, 10¢, Dec 23
- 1865 *Our Mutual Friend* Pt. I, 8°, 186 p, double col., paper covers, 50¢, Feb 2; Pt. II, 8°, p 187-350, double col., paper covers, 50¢, Nov 11; complete in one vol, 8°, 350 p, double col., paper covers, \$1.00 (cloth covers, \$1.50), Nov 11  
*Dr. Marigold's Prescription* 8°, 47 p, double col., paper covers, 10¢, Dec 22
- 1870 *Speeches, Letters, and Sayings of Charles Dickens*, 8°, 146 p, paper covers, 50¢, July 27  
*The Mystery of Edwin Drood* 8°, 102 p, paper covers, 25¢, Sept 21

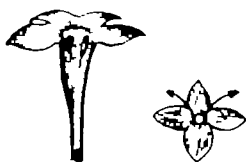


*Periodical Publications**HM (Harper's Monthly) HW (Harper's Weekly)*

- 1850 "A Child's Dream of a Star" *HM* 1 (June) 73-74  
 "From the Raven in the Happy Family [III]" *HM* 1 (Oct) 593-95. Retitled "What Horses Think of Men: From the Raven in the Happy Family"
- 1851 "Lively Turtle" *HM* 2 (Dec) 52-55. Retitled "Lively Turtle: A Sketch of a Conservative"
- "A Crisis in the Affairs of Mr. John Bull: As Related by Mrs. Bull to the Children" *HM* 2 (Jan) 235-38  
 "A December Vision" *HM* 2 (Feb) 359-61. Retitled "A Winter Vision"
- "Plate Glass" *HM* 2 (Apr) 668-72. Retitled "Plate Glass—What It Is, and How It Is Made." (Collaboration with W. H. Wills)  
 "Births: Mrs. Meek, of a Son" *HM* 2 (Apr) 672-74. Retitled "Births:—Mrs. Meek, of a Son.—A Plea for Infants"
- "Epsom" *HM* 3 (Aug) 329-34. Omits the first five paragraphs and retitled "Race Horses and Horse Races." (Collaboration with W. H. Wills)  
 "Our School" *HM* 4 (Dec) 72-75
- 1852 "A Black Eagle in a Bad Way" *HM* 4 (Jan) 217-19. (Collaboration with E. C. Grenville Murray and Henry Morley)  
 "To Be Read at Dusk" *HM* 4 (Jan) 235-39  
 "A Child's History of England: Chapter XII" *HM* 4 (Feb) 366-71. Retitled "A Child's History of King John's Reign"
- "What Christmas Is, As We Grow Older" *HM* 4 (Feb) 390-91  
 "A Sleep to Startle Us" *HM* 4 (May) 830-33  
 "Drooping Buds" *HM* 5 (June) 66-69. (Collaboration with Henry Morley)
- 1852/53 *Bleak House*, monthly in *HM* beginning Apr 1852 (vol 4) and ending Oct 1853 (vol 7)
- 1853 "The Poor Relation's Story" and "The Child's Story" from "A Round of Stories by the Christmas Fire" *HM* 6 (Feb) 400-05
- 1854 "The Schoolboy's Story" from "Another Round of Stories by the Christmas Fire" *HM* 8 (Feb) 365-69  
 "The Long Voyage" *HM* 8 (Feb) 398-401
- 1855 "The Story of Richard Doubledick" from "The Seven Poor Travellers" *HM* 10 (Feb) 371-77. Retitled "The Redeemed Profligate"
- 1856 "A Nightly Scene in London" *HM* 12 (Apr) 651-53
- 1856/57 *Little Dorrit* monthly in *HM* beginning Jan 1856 (vol 12) and ending July 1857 (vol 15)
- 1857 *A Lazy Tour of Two Idle Apprentices* weekly in *HW* beginning Oct 31 1857, and ending Nov 28 1857 (vol 1)
- 1859 "The Mortals in the House," "The Ghost in Master B.'s Room," and "The Ghost in the Corner Room" from "The Haunted House" *HW* 3 (Christmas Supplement, Dec 24) 1-13  
*A Tale of Two Cities* weekly in *HW* beginning May 7 1859, and ending Dec 3 1859 (vol 3)

- 1860 *The Uncommercial Traveller: First Series*, irregularly in *HW* beginning Feb 18 and ending Nov 3 (vol 4)  
 "His General Line of Business: The Shipwreck" (Feb 18) 106-07  
 "Wapping Work House" (Mar 10) 153-54  
 "Two Views of a Cheap Theatre" (Mar 24) 185-86  
 "Refreshments for Travellers" (Apr 7) 220  
 "Travelling Abroad" (Apr 28) 266-67  
 "The Great Tasmania's Cargo" (May 5) 282  
 "City of London Churches" (May 19) 315  
 "Shy Neighborhoods" (June 2) 346  
 "Tramps" (June 30) 410  
 "Night Walks" (July 28) 474  
 "Chambers" (Aug 25) 539  
 "Nurse's Stories" (Sept 22) 602-03  
 "Arcadian London" (Oct 20) 666-67  
 "The Italian Prisoner" (Nov 3) 699
- 1860/61 *Great Expectations*, weekly in *HW* beginning Nov 24 1860 (vol 4) and ending Aug 3 1861 (vol 5) except for the week of Jan 26 1861  
 "The Village," "The Money," and "Restitution" from "A Message from the Sea" *HW* 4 (Dec 29 1860) 825-31, and 5 (Jan 5 1861) 7-15
- 1862 "His Leaving It Till Called For," "His Boots," "His Umbrella," "His Brown-Paper Parcel," and "His Wonderful End" from "Somebody's Luggage" *HW* 6 (Dec 20 and 27) 810-15, 826-30
- 1864/65 *Our Mutual Friend*, monthly in *HM* beginning June 1864 (vol 29) and ending Dec 1865 (vol 32)
- 1870 *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*, in *HW* in special supplements, Apr 23, May 21, June 25, Aug 27, and Oct 1 1870 (vol 14)

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## A Decade's Bent: Names in the *Monthly Review* and the *Critical Review*, 1760–1769

THE ACTIVE PRESENCE of two comprehensive reviews in London in the mid-eighteenth century offers us an extraordinary chance to draw the outlines of the educated mind in that age. As these reviews assured their readers, they undertook to cover everything readable of current use. The advertisement to the first volume of the *Monthly Review* (May–October 1749) says it will fill the need for

a periodical work, whose sole object should be to give a compendious account of those productions of the press, as they come out, that are worth notice; an account, in short, which should, in virtue of its candour, and justness of distinction, obtain authority enough for its representations to be serviceable to such as would choose to have some idea of a book before they lay out their money or time on it.

In the preface to the first volume of the *Critical Review* (January–July 1756), its writers value themselves upon having reviewed every material performance, immediately after its first appearance, without reserving productions for a dearth of articles, and then raising them, like stale carcases from oblivion, after they have been blown upon by every minor critic, and the curiosity of the public is gorged even to satiety.

Comprehensiveness sometimes pained such reviewers as the one stuck with Jonas Hanway's *Essays and Meditations*, but they manfully did their duty: "Other readers can chuse what books to read, and what company to keep," he says, but "periodical critics are bound down to exhibit a faithful sketch of every performance, and frequently to dwell as minutely on the productions of dullness and ignorance, as on those of taste and knowledge." A *Monthly Reviewer* had less stomach for his job, a cookbook, managing only to say, "Sir Isaac Newton *himself* would not have been able to review this book."<sup>1</sup> Not only did the

1 *Critical Review* (CR, hereafter) 11 (June 1761) 443; For similar complaints, see CR 12 (Aug 1761) 158, and 13 *Monthly Review* (MR, hereafter) 36 (Feb 1767) 159. (Feb 1762) 139–40; MR 26 (Apr 1762) 316–17.

*Monthly Review* and the *Critical Review* alone attempt complete coverage for the general reader,<sup>2</sup> but their very coexistence is invaluable to the social or intellectual historian. If there were only one such review, we could not be certain whether it reflected what was on its readers' minds or merely its publisher's prejudices. But since the two actively competed with each other, checking each other from different sides of major issues—in the 1760s the *Critical* was moderately Tory and the *Monthly* moderately Whig, the *Critical* solidly Church of England and the *Monthly* sympathetic to mild Dissenters, the *Critical* prickled by anti-Scottish slurs and the *Monthly* amused—I think we have a reliable guide to what Englishmen of the time knew and cared about.

The coverage of the two reviews was encyclopedic, ranging in the 1760s from studies in Classical numismatics and Celtic–Hebraic linguistic theories to how-to books on hairdressing, bee-keeping, and cooking, by way of pharmacopeias, accounts of agricultural experiments, novels, juxtapositions of Newtonian and biblical cosmologies, and spates of pamphlets on the conduct of the war, on the disputed Middlesex election, on the rape case against Lord Baltimore, and—ominously swelling—on the respective obligations of mother country and colonies. Everyone with literary interests read them, and professionals like Johnson (himself a sufferer at the hands of both for his Shakespeare edition) witnessed to their reliability. We can fairly say about these magazines as guides to their time what one of them said of Burke's *Annual Register*:

the periodical compilation now before us, acquires its greatest merit by growing voluminous. A single volume is scarce worth the perusal; but we may regard a series of such volumes as a faithful repository of the manners of the age, and a treasure of all the policy, wit, and learning of Europe within a certain period. By comparing one with another, we trace every variation which the revolution of time, of caprice, and cunning introduce into manners; we catch every innovation as it rises, and with a single glance perceive the difference of ages, the succession of fashion, the progression of science, the fluctuation of public virtue, and the gradual elevation or decline of human nature. In a word, the *Annual Register* will present to the eye of a philosopher a natural picture of the manners of several ages, represented according to their just distances, by the exact rules of perception. (CR 12 [Aug 1761] 145–46)

Searching for a pattern in this fortuitous reflection of the mind of the decade, I decided to count names—the frequency and nature of the names that appeared in the *Monthly* and

2. Richmond P. Bond, introduction to his edition of *Studies in the Early English Periodical* (Chapel Hill: Univ of North Carolina Press 1957) 36–37: as against the earlier reviewing journals, the *Monthly* and *Critical* “threw aside the tradition of selecting books written

for the benefit of savants. They chose the more popular highway and attempted a prompt comprehensive coverage of literary, general, and occasionally specialized works for the accommodation of the average intelligent reader . . .”

*Critical Reviews* during the decade from January 1760 through December 1769. To provide the comfort of apparent precision, an index should be arithmetical; numbers, if gathered responsibly, can permit comparisons and analogies, and in this case they can provide the contours if not the whole texture of a time. Names are more easily definable than parts of speech or sentence rhythms and less subject to conscious control than topics. The printer or editor could decide that medical or religious books should be more or less elaborately dealt with, but he could not reasonably order his staff to avoid mentioning Galen or St Paul.

As for the time, a decade is pleasingly plump and yet clearly defined, and this particular one is specially interesting. It began with a divisive war, soon saw the death of an old king and the succession of a bridegroom, found peace and the problems of power balance, party struggle, inflation, and turbulent colonialism. Perhaps because of all the talk in our own Sixties of new consciousness and our evident changes in mental as well as social fashions, I thought I might find major changes in ways of apprehending reality over the decade;<sup>3</sup> but I may as well say at the outset that I did not. Older literary historians used to point to this decade as the turn from neoclassicism to preromanticism, including as it does Sterne's generically iconoclastic novels, Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*, Churchill's indecorous satires, Macpherson's windy Ossianic poems, Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (all lavishly praised), Goldsmith, Smart, and Chatterton, but my names show no such major change. Evidently, as more accurate scholars have been saying for quite a while now, the progress (or regression) from neoclassicism through preromanticism to romanticism in the middle of the century was a myth. After all, even if Sterne was wholly original and revolutionary (if nothing like *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, *A Tale of a Tub*, and the *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* ever happened), his book began to appear at the very start of the decade, and nothing more subversive of "neoclassicism" was to come into the "genre of the novel" by its end.

After a trial run through six months of 1759, I developed the following procedures: I ranked names as Major Reference, Moderate Reference, or Casual Reference. If the person was the subject or author of a book under review, the reference was Major. If he was discussed or quoted for a paragraph or more, or if he was said to be important in the argument or technique of a work, as Duhamel might be in a book on agriculture or Richardson in a novel, I considered the reference Moderate. I also listed among Moderate References the subjects or authors of materials reviewed in the "Monthly Catalogue" section of the two

3 As against changes in attitudes or immediate interests, some of which Robert Donald Spector has so valuably studied in his *English Literary Periodicals and*

*the Climate of Opinion During the Seven Years' War* (The Hague: Mouton 1966).

reviews—some five to twenty pages at the end of each issue. (After its first few years of experimenting, the *Critical Review* rarely exceeded its normal eighty pages per issue, but the *Monthly* often added multiples of eight-page gatherings as well as, from Volume 29 [July–December 1763], regular issue-length Appendixes on foreign literature at the end of each volume.)<sup>4</sup>

In compiling the names within these categories (of which the Moderate is, intractably, elastic), I have tried to achieve consistency first by counting one name only once per article—if every reference were counted, a three-page discussion of physics, mentioning Newton perhaps a dozen times, would distort his prominence in an 1,100-page year of the *Monthly*. Second, in my final calculations for the Casual References, I counted only those names that appeared twice or more in a year in the magazine. This costs me the occasional Powell the Fire Eater, part of everyone's London in the 1760s, but it avoids a clutter of people as much in need of footnotes then as now: medieval Goths, Hindus, and Mecklenbergers in parts of histories, Mediterranean politicians in catalogues of old medals, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century courtiers in paintings listed in guidebooks to great houses. So far as I can judge, these single references (which make up perhaps a third of the casual references) represent more or less the same areas as the ones that occur twice or more; they may have a few more scientists, doctors, and historical figures than religious or literary ones, but the proportional differences seem slight. Third, I do not count the most frequent reference, God or Jesus, since I often could not tell if the writer had a Person or Something more generalized in mind; but I do count figures in both Testaments. Finally, I count no Roman or Greek mythological figures, no fictional characters, no authors of sermons merely listed but not reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, and no kings or queens used only to establish time, as when a reign is mentioned or the year of a statute.

Frequency of names in these magazines is not completely correlated with the space allotted to the appropriate subjects, though the divergence seems unimportant. Some subjects—e.g., moral lectures, novels, or discussions of how to reduce high grain prices—do not involve much reference to real people. But economic or political concerns are represented by the names of politicians or economists who appear in other contexts; if only one or two saints illuminate a homily, sanctified and scholarly religious names swarm all over a ten-page review of a volume of Nathaniel Lardner's *Large Collection of Antient Jewish and Heathen Testimonies to the Truth of the Christian Religion, with Notes and Observations*;

<sup>4</sup> See Benjamin Christie Nangle *The Monthly Review and Articles* (Oxford: Clarendon 1934) xv.  
*First Series 1749–1789. Indexes of Contributors*

and the very lack of living or historical names in the novels says something about how they served the mind of the time. Furthermore, the reader need hardly be cautioned to assume that I am fallible: despite my efforts to be complete and accurate, I may have missed a name here and there, and I surely failed at times in my attempt to maintain consistency of classification. But I hope that the large scope of the undertaking makes the proportional conclusions accurate even when the absolute numbers cannot be completely so, that anyone else doing what I have done will find essentially the same data.

The accompanying tables and lists show in short form the two ways in which these names are particularly informative. First, the classification according to category affords fairly large generalizations about English culture of the 1760s. To judge by the relative closeness of the percentages in the two magazines through the ten years, we can say now with some confidence how far literate, educated adults of the 1760s in England reflected their Classical education in their normal intellectual concerns, to what extent religion, science, medicine, and scholarship figured in their normal consciousness of life, what proportion ancient, old, or modern persons and events provided for ready reference. Moreover, the different prominence of these elements in the categories of Moderate and Casual Reference suggests a distinction—not necessarily confined to that decade—between a bed rock formed by education and the overlay of current event or fashion. Second, the classification according to frequency of names, aside from its amusement value, should help to provide priorities for historical scholars of all sorts. Whether we are studying the botany or the architecture of the time, we need to know those with whom its botanists and architects were most familiar.

Except for religion and medicine, the major classifications—Ancient-Modern, British-Other, the arts and sciences—that make the Moderate and Casual References most informative help very little with Major References. Since much of the material reviewed was anonymous, the Major References may be less enlightening than a simple look at a table of contents (something, by the way, provided by the *Critical* but not the *Monthly* in our decade). Fiction was rarely published under an author's name, and even studies in political economy, philosophy, medicine, and religion were often unclaimed. The reader may, however, be as surprised as I was at the comparatively large number of works by or about religious and medical people. As Table I shows, 17.9% of the Major References in the *Monthly* and 19.9% in the *Critical* were religious figures, almost all authors of religious books—sermons, polemics, historical scholarship on religious events or movements, biblical studies, controversies, discussions of religious politics, or combinations of these. Respectively, 10.8% and 7.4% dealt with medicine. So far as I can see, there are no major trends reflecting the times.

Table I  
MAJOR REFERENCES

|                        | 1760 | 1761 | 1762 | 1763 | 1764 | 1765 | 1766 | 1767 | 1768 | 1769 | Overall |
|------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|---------|
| % RELIGIOUS REFERENCES |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |         |
| <i>Monthly</i>         | 15.6 | 17.4 | 16.5 | 13.0 | 20.7 | 24.3 | 30.9 | 11.8 | 16.7 | 8.9  | 17.9    |
| <i>Critical</i>        | 3.9  | 12.0 | 13.4 | 24.6 | 22.8 | 31.3 | 34.2 | 12.8 | 17.3 | 18.7 | 19.9    |
| % MEDICAL REFERENCES   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |         |
| <i>Monthly</i>         | 11.7 | 10.2 | 9.4  | 8.7  | 9.5  | 10.6 | 10.5 | 7.3  | 19.3 | 11.5 | 10.8    |
| <i>Critical</i>        | 18.2 | 9.4  | 13.4 | 0.8  | 1.0  | 11.8 | 7.4  | 3.5  | 11.1 | 15.0 | 7.4     |
| TOTAL NUMBER (100%)    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |         |
| <i>Monthly</i>         | 77   | 127  | 127  | 138  | 126  | 132  | 133  | 110  | 114  | 113  | 1197    |
| <i>Critical</i>        | 77   | 159  | 112  | 122  | 96   | 102  | 149  | 86   | 81   | 75   | 1059    |

The sharpest change was in the *Critical*, which suddenly moved from a relatively low proportion and number of religious major references in the first three years of the decade to a consistently high one from 1763 on, just as its medical Major References sank significantly at about the same time. Since 1764, 1765, and 1766 were also peak years for religious Major References for the *Monthly*, we can guess that booksellers had not thought them timely during the war and were now catching up on the backlog. But since the *Monthly* did not have the corresponding drop in medical names, it may be that the *Critical*'s change was the direct consequence of Smollett's leaving it in spring of 1763. Smollett had himself reviewed medical works, and he seems to have disdained if not religion at least the clergy of all denominations.<sup>5</sup> In general, however, the two journals spend similar amounts of space, evidence that they did reflect and not mold opinion.

On the Moderate Reference and Casual Reference tables (II-VI), which show more substantially the intellectual interests of Englishmen of the 1760s, readers may notice that the categories sometimes do not add up to 100%. This is because they may represent combinations of selected smaller categories on the original scheme of classification, which was as follows:

<sup>5</sup> For Smollett's connection with the *Critical Review* and his separation from it in the spring of 1763, see his *Letters* ed Lewis M. Knapp (Oxford: Clarendon 1970), 103, 108, 125; for his religious views, see Donald

Greene "Smollett the Historian: A Reappraisal" in G. S. Rousseau & P.-G. Boucé, eds *Tobias Smollett: Bicentennial Essays Presented to Lewis M. Knapp* (NY: Oxford Univ Press 1971) 25-56, esp. p 48.



- 1 Ancient author, philosopher, etc.
- 2 Ancient scholar, scientist, doctor
- 3 Ancient politician, military figure, notable
- 4 Eighteenth-century author, critic, British
- 5 Eighteenth-century author, critic, Other
- 6 Older author, critic, British
- 7 Older author, critic, Other
- 8 Eighteenth-century artist, art critic, British
- 9 Eighteenth-century artist, art critic, Other
- 10 Older artist, art critic, British
- 11 Older artist, art critic, Other
- 12 Eighteenth-century politician, military figure, notable, British
- 13 Eighteenth-century politician, military figure, notable, Other
- 14 Older politician, military figure, notable, British
- 15 Older politician, military figure, notable, Other
- 16 Religious figure, current
- 17 Religious figure, older
- 18 Religious figure, Bible and saints
- 19 Notables in medicine, anatomy, surgery, etc.
- 20 Notables in physics, mathematics, mechanics, practical and technical studies
- 21 Notables in chemistry, botany, zoology, etc.
- 22 Social, moral, philosophical students
- 23 Antiquaries, scholars, historians, memoirists
- 24 Travelers, geographers
- 25 Miscellaneous

Filling in charts with these twenty-five categories for each year, I realized that some of the distinctions were numerically insignificant and some susceptible of useful regrouping. The numbers for different sciences, for example, were too small to show much about proportional emphases (I had in mind the general thesis that as the century advanced interest shifted from the mathematical to the biological sciences, from the Newtonian to the Linnæan or Buffonian). I therefore combined them into the sciences, adding the figures for agricultural and other practical experiments with little substantial effect. In organizing the material for the tables, I combined the above numbered categories as follows, using some of them several times:

- Ancient 1, 2, 3, 18
- Older 6, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 17
- Current 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 13, 16
- British 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14

Other 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15

Humanities and Social Studies 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 22

Scholar, Traveler 2, 23

Religion 16, 17, 18

Science 19, 20

Political, Military, Historical 1, 12, 13, 14, 15

Medicine 19

Since I had neither listing precisely in view when collecting the names, some distinctions may have been slightly blurred when the characteristics were changed—some scholars in 2 might just as well have been with the philosophers of 3—but the numbers involved are insignificant.

As on most issues, on the proportions of ancient and current Moderate References the two magazines are reassuringly close, over all and for most individual years. On Older

Table II  
MODERATE REFERENCES  
Period When Active

|                                       | 1760 | 1761 | 1762 | 1763 | 1764 | 1765 | 1766 | 1767 | 1768 | 1769 | Overall<br>Each | Overall<br>Both |
|---------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------|-----------------|
| % ANCIENT                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| Monthly                               | 15.7 | 10.2 | 11.1 | 8.4  | 13.6 | 11.8 | 10.5 | 11.2 | 7.5  | 8.4  | 10.6            |                 |
| Critical                              | 19.0 | 13.1 | 9.8  | 13.8 | 13.7 | 10.8 | 10.7 | 12.1 | 9.0  | 12.0 | 12.4            | 11.5            |
| % OLDER<br>(MEDIEVAL<br>THROUGH 17 C) |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| Monthly                               | 8.3  | 12.0 | 11.8 | 15.3 | 8.0  | 13.1 | 6.3  | 11.7 | 12.4 | 11.7 | 11.1            |                 |
| Critical                              | 20.1 | 25.4 | 19.8 | 21.0 | 14.7 | 14.4 | 12.5 | 13.8 | 13.6 | 18.7 | 17.8            | 14.3            |
| % 18 C OR<br>CURRENT                  |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| Monthly                               | 46.4 | 51.9 | 42.0 | 51.2 | 44.6 | 44.0 | 42.7 | 38.2 | 43.1 | 42.1 | 44.6            |                 |
| Critical                              | 32.5 | 36.1 | 47.4 | 43.1 | 48.7 | 44.7 | 52.1 | 44.6 | 44.3 | 41.7 | 43.1            | 43.9            |
| % UNCLASSIFIED                        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| Monthly                               | 29.6 | 25.9 | 35.1 | 25.1 | 33.8 | 31.1 | 40.5 | 38.9 | 37.0 | 37.8 | 33.7            |                 |
| Critical                              | 28.4 | 25.4 | 23.0 | 22.1 | 22.9 | 30.1 | 24.7 | 29.5 | 33.1 | 27.6 | 26.7            | 30.3            |
| TOTAL NUMBER<br>(100%)                |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| Monthly                               | 436  | 559  | 513  | 518  | 461  | 416  | 534  | 542  | 642  | 631  | 5252            |                 |
| Critical                              | 440  | 723  | 453  | 395  | 460  | 427  | 430  | 469  | 546  | 475  | 4818            | 10,070          |

Table III  
MODERATE REFERENCES  
National Identification

|                        | 1760 | 1761 | 1762 | 1763 | 1764 | 1765 | 1766 | 1767 | 1768 | 1769 | Overall<br>Each | Overall<br>Both |
|------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------|-----------------|
| % BRITISH              |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| <i>Monthly</i>         | 28.5 | 38.4 | 34.8 | 43.7 | 26.5 | 33.0 | 28.8 | 25.7 | 31.9 | 28.3 | 32.0            | 32.6            |
| <i>Critical</i>        | 25.0 | 27.1 | 41.5 | 46.1 | 34.2 | 33.7 | 36.5 | 30.7 | 29.8 | 33.1 | 33.2            |                 |
| % OTHER                |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| <i>Monthly</i>         | 9.2  | 14.1 | 7.3  | 7.2  | 11.0 | 3.4  | 7.8  | 9.9  | 12.3 | 11.9 | 9.5             | 10.4            |
| <i>Critical</i>        | 21.7 | 25.6 | 16.3 | 9.6  | 15.5 | 6.7  | 8.1  | 6.8  | 7.6  | 9.4  | 11.3            |                 |
| TOTAL NUMBER<br>(100%) |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| <i>Monthly</i>         | 436  | 559  | 513  | 518  | 461  | 416  | 534  | 542  | 642  | 631  | 5252            | 10,070          |
| <i>Critical</i>        | 440  | 723  | 453  | 395  | 460  | 427  | 430  | 469  | 546  | 475  | 4818            |                 |

references, the *Critical* is consistently somewhat higher, as it is in the first three years on Other as against British, both possible reflections of Smollett's initiating interest in history. From 1763, the two Reviews are extremely close on the proportions British and Other, the overall 32.6% British and 10.4% Other being almost the same as each magazine's overall figure. The unusually high numbers of 1763 British names no doubt reflect in a general way the peace after the seven years of war; but they are at least partly the consequences of what must have been planned for some time, the publication of Volume I of Catherine Macaulay's *History of England, from the Accession of James I to that of the Brunswick Line*, and of Anchtel Grey's ten-volume *Debates of the House of Commons, From the Year 1667 to the Year 1694*, which received large quantities of review space in the two magazines. Other historical works swelled the numbers of British references for that time.<sup>6</sup>

Similarly, there were very close and consistent proportions of references to figures in the arts and social sciences, scholarship, and medicine. Though the *Critical* complained of the promiscuous mixtures of the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society and spent less

6 The following pertinent works were reviewed in one or both magazines in 1763: an edition of Francis Bacon's *Letters, Speeches, Charges*; Dobson's *Chronological Annals of the War*; Ferdinando Warner's *History of Ireland*; an edition of Roger Ascham's *English Works*; the *State Letters* of Henry, Earl of Clarendon, for the 1680s; a volume of the *Biographia Britannica*;

the continuation of Smollett's *History of England*; Ruffhead's edition of the *Statutes*; Guthrie's *History of the English Peerage*; a new edition of Algernon Sydney's *Discourses on Government*, and Gloucester Rudley's biography of the martyred Bishop Nicholas Ridley.

Table IV  
MODERATE REFERENCES  
Field of Activity

|                                                       | 1760 | 1761 | 1762 | 1763 | 1764 | 1765 | 1766 | 1767 | 1768 | 1769 | Overall<br>Each | Overall<br>Both |
|-------------------------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------|-----------------|
| % ARTS,<br>PHILOSOPHY,<br>SOCIAL STUDIES,<br>LAW      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| <i>Monthly</i>                                        | 34.8 | 27.3 | 31.2 | 32.5 | 27.6 | 36.1 | 27.9 | 23.9 | 26.8 | 24.2 | 28.8            |                 |
| <i>Critical</i>                                       | 32.1 | 28.8 | 37.7 | 25.8 | 26.7 | 25.9 | 28.1 | 24.3 | 22.2 | 22.8 | 27.3            | 28.1            |
| % SCHOLARSHIP,<br>HISTORY,<br>TRAVEL,<br>MEMOIRS      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| <i>Monthly</i>                                        | 5.1  | 5.9  | 4.3  | 6.1  | 7.8  | 6.4  | 9.7  | 10.1 | 10.8 | 11.0 | 7.9             |                 |
| <i>Critical</i>                                       | 11.4 | 7.5  | 5.5  | 9.1  | 8.3  | 6.7  | 5.8  | 11.5 | 8.8  | 8.1  | 8.2             | 8.0             |
| % RELIGION                                            |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| <i>Monthly</i>                                        | 22.1 | 16.0 | 14.4 | 18.9 | 21.0 | 25.3 | 18.5 | 20.8 | 13.2 | 16.8 | 18.3            |                 |
| <i>Critical</i>                                       | 9.6  | 10.7 | 10.7 | 15.0 | 19.4 | 23.9 | 27.7 | 27.3 | 24.0 | 24.4 | 18.9            | 18.6            |
| % SCIENCE,<br>PHYSICAL,<br>THEORETICAL<br>& APPLIED   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| <i>Monthly</i>                                        | 6.4  | 8.4  | 4.1  | 7.1  | 12.3 | 7.4  | 8.2  | 13.2 | 6.3  | 11.3 | 8.5             |                 |
| <i>Critical</i>                                       | 3.9  | 9.8  | 4.4  | 5.1  | 7.1  | 5.6  | 5.9  | 4.5  | 4.5  | 4.9  | 5.8             | 7.2             |
| % POLITICS,<br>MILITARY,<br>HISTORICAL NOTE           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| <i>Monthly</i>                                        | 16.6 | 29.2 | 21.2 | 26.5 | 21.9 | 14.0 | 22.5 | 20.2 | 23.0 | 24.7 | 22.4            |                 |
| <i>Critical</i>                                       | 31.6 | 37.6 | 29.7 | 38.4 | 32.8 | 24.8 | 23.2 | 19.8 | 22.2 | 28.8 | 28.6            | 25.4            |
| % MEDICINE                                            |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| <i>Monthly</i>                                        | 6.7  | 5.2  | 9.0  | 4.2  | 5.4  | 6.5  | 7.3  | 6.6  | 14.1 | 7.6  | 7.5             |                 |
| <i>Critical</i>                                       | 6.6  | 3.5  | 8.4  | 2.5  | 3.7  | 9.8  | 4.2  | 10.0 | 9.3  | 7.4  | 6.4             | 7.0             |
| % MISCELLANEOUS<br>(INCLUDES NEWS,<br>PROJECTS, ETC.) |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| <i>Monthly</i>                                        | 8.5  | 5.0  | 6.8  | 4.6  | 4.3  | 4.3  | 5.6  | 5.2  | 5.6  | 4.4  | 5.4             |                 |
| <i>Critical</i>                                       | 5.0  | 2.1  | 4.2  | 4.3  | 1.7  | 3.0  | 5.1  | 2.6  | 8.8  | 3.6  | 4.0             | 4.7             |
| TOTAL NUMBER<br>(100%)                                |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| <i>Monthly</i>                                        | 436  | 559  | 513  | 518  | 461  | 416  | 534  | 542  | 642  | 631  | 5252            |                 |
| <i>Critical</i>                                       | 440  | 723  | 453  | 395  | 460  | 427  | 430  | 469  | 546  | 475  | 4818            | 10,070          |

space on them than did the *Monthly*, therefore providing fewer references,<sup>7</sup> the category is too small for significant differences. In frequency of religious names, the *Critical* evidences the same changes in 1763 (though not so drastically) as in the Major Reference Table I, and it bears a high proportion of them through the decade. As against Table I, Table IV shows no sharp falling off in references in the *Monthly* for the last three years, an indication that the furniture of the mind could be even and regular despite surges of publishing fashion. In medicine the change is much less pronounced, for from 1761 the *Monthly* provides more references. Perhaps most interesting is the difference in political, military, and historical personages, which may reflect Smollett's historical orientation or a healthy Tory love of a lord.

Comparing the Moderate Reference tables (II, III, IV) to the Casual Reference tables (V, VI, VII), we see that the Moderate Reference is more likely to reflect current subjects, particularly since it is heavily weighted by material in the "Monthly Catalogue," where most pamphlets were reviewed. And after all, these are journals, which by definition should be concerned with what is current. It is therefore all the more interesting—and good support for critics who stress the historical concern and awareness of the eighteenth century—that about a quarter of the Moderate References in Table II are clearly Ancient or Older, with only 43.9% clearly Current or Eighteenth Century. (Since a certain number of names could not reasonably be classified by time, we are dealing with only two-thirds of the names in the Moderate category.) If we remove the 1490 references that I originally labeled Eighteenth-century political, military, and notables, British and Other (the original categories 12 and 13 above), thereby removing the accession of the new king, the events of the war, the two swirls around Wilkes, and the quarrels with, over, and between Pitt and Bute, we remove 14.8% and are left with 29.1%, only slightly higher than the total of the others.

Without my intention, my divisions into time categories overlook science and concentrate on politics, the arts, and religion—but these do add up to two-thirds of all the names. It is true that the Miscellaneous are almost exclusively current, and would add another 4.7% to make the total Current 33.8%, but something would need to be added to the Ancient from the Scholarly if we recorded the period of every name in that category. Despite its unquestioned concern with technology and the practical, then, this is a consistently past-oriented

7 The *Critical* describes the *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol 52, Part I for the year 1761, as "two huge volumes, replete with puerility. . . the Transactions are every year growing more frivolous and voluminous, notwithstanding they are immediately under the direc-

tion of a committee. The last, God knows, conducted very little to the progress of knowledge, or the benefit of mankind; but the volume now in review is insupportably dull and trifling" CR 14 (Nov 1762) 321-22.

Table V  
CASUAL REFERENCES  
Period When Active

|                                       | 1760 | 1761 | 1762 | 1763 | 1764 | 1765 | 1766 | 1767 | 1768 | 1769 | Overall<br>Each | Overall<br>Both |
|---------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------|-----------------|
| % ANCIENT                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| Monthly                               | 45.3 | 39.2 | 33.2 | 26.2 | 35.6 | 35.1 | 34.1 | 31.4 | 21.8 | 27.8 | 32.3            | 32.8            |
| Critical                              | 33.9 | 35.5 | 33.8 | 27.9 | 36.3 | 36.7 | 30.0 | 32.2 | 32.6 | 33.9 | 33.4            |                 |
| % OLDER<br>(MEDIEVAL<br>THROUGH 1699) |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| Monthly                               | 17.3 | 17.4 | 14.5 | 26.5 | 18.2 | 13.9 | 15.4 | 17.7 | 21.6 | 24.5 | 19.1            | 22.3            |
| Critical                              | 27.2 | 22.5 | 19.3 | 30.3 | 24.2 | 22.7 | 25.9 | 24.7 | 27.1 | 32.0 | 25.6            |                 |
| % 1700<br>TO CURRENT                  |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| Monthly                               | 25.6 | 27.4 | 30.3 | 32.1 | 24.6 | 31.8 | 30.5 | 26.4 | 31.5 | 28.5 | 29.1            | 27.5            |
| Critical                              | 21.8 | 24.5 | 29.9 | 32.7 | 24.6 | 24.9 | 30.1 | 25.6 | 25.8 | 18.6 | 26.0            |                 |
| % UNCLASSIFIED                        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| Monthly                               | 11.8 | 16.0 | 22.0 | 15.2 | 21.6 | 19.2 | 20.0 | 24.5 | 25.1 | 19.2 | 19.5            | 17.4            |
| Critical                              | 17.1 | 17.5 | 17.0 | 9.1  | 14.9 | 15.7 | 14.0 | 17.5 | 14.5 | 15.5 | 15.0            |                 |
| TOTAL NUMBER<br>(100%)                |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| Monthly                               | 641  | 419  | 613  | 1007 | 741  | 875  | 753  | 786  | 762  | 774  | 7371            | 14,700          |
| Critical                              | 592  | 565  | 703  | 770  | 943  | 887  | 786  | 607  | 697  | 779  | 7329            |                 |

society; or we could say, this society was fascinated by history, partly because history may be useful to explain the present, and partly for Imlac's reason, that history can show us what people are always like. In short, history was as widely planted in the thinking of the time as its practice by a number of leading contemporaries—Smollett, Hume, Robertson, Gibbon, Burke, and Goldsmith formally, Johnson, Boswell, and others through biography—would suggest.

Somewhat more than the Moderate References, the Casual Reference tables reflect the underlying mind of the time, for on this measure the *causes célèbres* enter only as auxiliaries. The bank of references, available with persuasive consistency to both *Monthly* and *Critical* reviewers, is stored mainly with the past, supplemented with the most familiar events or figures of the present. Current politicians dwindle, irrelevant to religious, agricultural, and astronomical works, and even to essays on handling Guadeloupe or the American colonies. The British-Other distinction (Table V), in its startling likeness to the equivalent Moderate

Table VI  
CASUAL REFERENCES  
National Identification

|                        | 1760 | 1761 | 1762 | 1763 | 1764 | 1765 | 1766 | 1767 | 1768 | 1769 | Overall<br>Each | Overall<br>Both |
|------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------|-----------------|
| % BRITISH              |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| <i>Monthly</i>         | 23.5 | 27.7 | 32.8 | 43.4 | 26.2 | 28.9 | 31.3 | 25.3 | 30.1 | 30.9 | 30.6            | 32.1            |
| <i>Critical</i>        | 24.3 | 26.1 | 33.3 | 49.8 | 29.3 | 32.5 | 36.2 | 35.5 | 31.8 | 34.4 | 33.6            |                 |
| % OTHER                |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| <i>Monthly</i>         | 13.5 | 12.8 | 9.6  | 7.9  | 9.7  | 6.0  | 6.5  | 11.1 | 10.1 | 12.3 | 9.6             | 10.3            |
| <i>Critical</i>        | 22.0 | 17.8 | 12.2 | 8.1  | 15.4 | 6.3  | 6.1  | 3.8  | 11.8 | 9.0  | 11.0            |                 |
| TOTAL NUMBER<br>(100%) |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| <i>Monthly</i>         | 641  | 419  | 613  | 1007 | 741  | 875  | 753  | 786  | 762  | 774  | 7371            | 14,700          |
| <i>Critical</i>        | 592  | 565  | 703  | 770  | 943  | 887  | 786  | 607  | 697  | 779  | 7329            |                 |

Reference Table (III), suggests a consistent three-to-one awareness of British as against other notable people in the mind of the time. Medical and scientific figures almost disappear, being confined to those mentioned in the course of specific discussions of their fields and to giants like Newton, Linnaeus, and Boerhaave. The fibers of the general education, the elements that prepared and shaped the English mind for general activity, assert themselves: the ancient writers, whom everyone had studied at school, and the standard English authors. Over 55 % of the relevant names are Ancient or Older; only 27.5 % Current or Eighteenth Century. Remove 1779 Current politicals (again, the original categories 12 and 13 above), and you leave only 15.4 % Casual Reference Current for the arts, antiquarian scholars, and religion—in general, for all areas of discourse except the temporally unclassified 8.7 % scholarly, 4.1 % scientific, and 3.0 % medical.

The lists of names will not startle readers, but neither will they prove obvious or predictable. It may surprise some to see Voltaire and Rousseau so extraordinarily more prominent than, say, Johnson, Smollett, and Goldsmith, all of whom had extensive and important relations with the journalism of the day and all of whom published major works during the decade. Johnson, England's Great Cham of literature whose 1765 edition of Shakespeare was moreover a major literary event, does not even appear among the twenty-four people mentioned in Major Reference in the *Monthly* five or more times, though he is seventh in the *Critical*; Smollett also fails to make the *Monthly*, despite the publication in the 1760s of *Launcelot*

Table VII  
CASUAL REFERENCES  
Field of Activity

|                                                       | 1760 | 1761 | 1762 | 1763 | 1764 | 1765 | 1766 | 1767 | 1768 | 1769 | Overall<br>Each | Overall<br>Both |
|-------------------------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------|-----------------|
| % ARTS,<br>PHILOSOPHY,<br>SOCIAL STUDIES,<br>LAW      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| <i>Monthly</i>                                        | 55.8 | 46.3 | 46.8 | 33.5 | 36.6 | 43.8 | 34.7 | 27.4 | 36.1 | 37.9 | 39.0            |                 |
| <i>Critical</i>                                       | 39.7 | 45.6 | 50.2 | 32.9 | 40.8 | 34.3 | 33.6 | 36.7 | 38.6 | 26.9 | 37.7            | 38.4            |
| % SCHOLARSHIP,<br>HISTORY,<br>TRAVEL,<br>MEMOIRS      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| <i>Monthly</i>                                        | 4.7  | 5.3  | 9.9  | 4.7  | 8.3  | 6.7  | 8.4  | 11.5 | 9.5  | 7.9  | 7.7             |                 |
| <i>Critical</i>                                       | 9.3  | 9.0  | 8.4  | 9.8  | 11.0 | 8.9  | 6.6  | 13.4 | 11.8 | 9.6  | 9.7             | 8.7             |
| % RELIGION                                            |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| <i>Monthly</i>                                        | 16.8 | 14.6 | 10.9 | 14.4 | 19.2 | 22.7 | 17.6 | 18.3 | 18.5 | 19.3 | 17.5            |                 |
| <i>Critical</i>                                       | 7.4  | 5.4  | 5.0  | 14.5 | 10.0 | 24.4 | 26.0 | 21.9 | 21.2 | 19.4 | 16.1            | 16.8            |
| % SCIENCE,<br>PHYSICAL,<br>THEORETICAL<br>& APPLIED   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| <i>Monthly</i>                                        | 2.0  | 5.3  | 3.4  | 5.2  | 5.4  | 4.6  | 5.2  | 9.8  | 4.1  | 4.5  | 5.0             |                 |
| <i>Critical</i>                                       | 6.8  | 6.8  | 3.0  | 1.8  | 2.4  | 3.4  | 1.3  | 3.3  | 3.6  | 1.4  | 3.2             | 4.1             |
| % POLITICS,<br>MILITARY,<br>HISTORICAL<br>NOTE        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| <i>Monthly</i>                                        | 29.6 | 23.3 | 21.0 | 38.5 | 25.9 | 19.1 | 28.3 | 28.2 | 22.8 | 26.1 | 26.8            |                 |
| <i>Critical</i>                                       | 34.0 | 30.7 | 27.6 | 40.4 | 32.7 | 26.2 | 30.6 | 21.9 | 23.7 | 39.6 | 30.9            | 28.9            |
| % MEDICINE                                            |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| <i>Monthly</i>                                        | 2.0  | 4.8  | 5.7  | 1.6  | 4.3  | 2.3  | 5.2  | 3.1  | 7.7  | 2.6  | 3.8             |                 |
| <i>Critical</i>                                       | 2.5  | 2.3  | 4.1  | 0.9  | 1.5  | 2.7  | 1.4  | 2.5  | 0.9  | 2.8  | 2.1             | 3.0             |
| % MISCELLANEOUS<br>(INCLUDES NEWS,<br>PROJECTS, ETC.) |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| <i>Monthly</i>                                        | 0.6  | 0.5  | 2.1  | 1.2  | 0.3  | 0.7  | 0.5  | 2.0  | 1.0  | 1.6  | 1.1             |                 |
| <i>Critical</i>                                       | —    | 0.4  | 0.9  | 1.2  | 0.7  | —    | 0.4  | 0.3  | 0.3  | 0.3  | 0.45            | 0.8             |
| TOTAL NUMBER<br>(100%)                                |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                 |                 |
| <i>Monthly</i>                                        | 641  | 419  | 613  | 1007 | 741  | 875  | 753  | 786  | 762  | 774  | 7371            |                 |
| <i>Critical</i>                                       | 592  | 565  | 703  | 770  | 943  | 887  | 786  | 607  | 697  | 779  | 7329            | 14,700          |



*Greaves*, *The Adventures of an Atom*, the *Travels*, and parts of his *History of England*; and Goldsmith, who published with similar voluminousness through the decade, is not on either list. The staggering number of Major mentions of Voltaire in the *Monthly*, by the way, is partly explained by its custom of publishing full-scale supplements to each volume on foreign—which meant mainly French—books.<sup>8</sup>

## List I

## Major References, 5 or more

*Monthly Review*

1. Voltaire, 33 references
2. Rousseau, 24
3. Churchill, 15
4. William Warburton, 11
5. Joseph Priestley, 9
5. Sterne, 9
5. Swift, 9
8. William Blackstone (law), 8
9. Dr John Brown (*Estimate*, etc.), 7
9. John Langhorne (belles lettres), 7
9. Catherine Macaulay (history), 7
12. King David, 6
12. Nathaniel Lardner (religion), 6
12. Plato, 6
12. Shakespeare, 6
16. D'Alembert, 5
16. James Ferguson (physics), 5
16. Anchtel Grey (Parl. debates, 17 C), 5
16. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 5
16. Arthur Murphy, 5
16. John Ogilvie (poet, priest), 5
16. Thomas Phillips (Catholic scholar), 5
16. Cardinal Reginald Pole, 5
16. John Taylor (religion), 5

*Critical Review*

1. Charles Churchill, 15 references
1. Voltaire, 15
3. Rousseau, 14
4. Shakespeare, 12
4. Warburton, 12
6. Sterne, 10
7. Johnson, 8
8. James Ferguson (physics, astronomy), 7
8. William Guthrie (history), 7
8. John Langhorne, 7
8. Catherine Macaulay, 7
8. Smollett, 7
8. Swift, 7
14. Arthur Murphy (playwright), 6
15. Dr John Brown, 5
15. Hume, 5
15. Thomas Jeffreys (geographer), 5
15. Nathaniel Lardner, 5
15. Newton, 5
15. Cardinal Reginald Pole, 5
15. Percival Pott (surgeon), 5
15. Joseph Priestley, 5
15. Virgil, 5
15. Horace Walpole, 5

8 Part may be the result of my reading a great deal of the *Critical* toward the end of my study, with a possible shift in my cataloguing of books that were published in the regular section but received only two or three pages of attention; at first I considered anything in the regular

section to require Major Reference, whereas toward the end I may have weighed my responsibility to judge more heavily, and therefore may have called Moderate in the *Critical* a few Voltaire references that might have been Major in the *Monthly*

Among contemporary English writers, the success of Churchill and Sterne is no news, though its degree as measured by the Major Reference list may be. A main reason for it is the obvious one: alive and dead, they published a great deal—Churchill the poems concentrated into 1761–64 and a posthumous volume of sermons, and Sterne the five separate publications of parts of *Tristram Shandy* as well as *A Sentimental Journey*, the sermons, and his letters (published posthumously), all strung pretty much through the decade. But the Major Reference list also reflects editorial decisions that the public wanted their works reviewed in the main magazine and not—as with Goldsmith, Smart, and John Hill, for example—in the “Monthly Catalogue.” I confess that Warburton’s frequency of appearance, which grows in impressiveness when one adds the other lists, surprised me, though I knew him to be prominent. Except for the people at the center of political turbulence, Warburton, as religious and Classical scholar, church official and politician, literary scholar, and moreover as controversialist in all these roles, may well have been the most pervasive figure in the educated mind of the decade.

Otherwise, Priestley is high in Major References (particularly in the *Monthly*, with which his religious and political attitudes were congenial) for his varied roles as dissenting religious controversialist, political libertarian, and scientific scholar, the last especially evidenced in this decade by his history of electrical research and theory. Shakespeare was edited several times, the Johnson edition being extensively reviewed in the *Critical*; perhaps because Kenrick, who had been a major *Monthly* critic, said more than enough in a whole book attacking this edition and its editor, the *Monthly* allotted it less space. Similarly Swift, whose correspondence with dignitaries particularly fascinated the reviewers, is high on both lists because of the continuing editions by Deane Swift and John Hawkesworth. Dr John Brown, of the *Estimate*, wrote voluminously on economic matters, literature, and religion, evoking derision from the *Critical* and respect from the *Monthly*.<sup>9</sup> John Langhorne, the *Monthly*’s main literary reviewer, published quantities of poetry, essays, and religious reflections; Catherine Macaulay’s Whiggish history of the English seventeenth century provided the *Critical* with an excellent chance to show its political impartiality and received from both magazines the ponderous courtesy due to female scholarship. Blackstone’s *Commentaries* were reviewed respectfully in both journals, and at special length in the *Monthly*, which had in Owen Ruffhead a legal scholar eager to show his expertise.

9 One *Critical* reviewer described him as “the great Dr. Brown, the multiform, inimitable, universal genius of the age, the poet, the playwright, the philosopher, the dictator, the musician, the divine, the author of

*Barbarossa*, *Essays on the Characteristics*, the much-admired and now forgotten *Estimate* . . .” CR 15 (Apr 1763) 241.

The other figures on the Major Reference lists tend to reflect the decade's short bursts of religious, historical, or literary excitement: King David, slandered by an anonymous biographer and sturdily defended by Samuel Chandler, a favorite with both Reviews as an old theological campaigner; Lardner, producer of four quarto volumes of Classical scholarship in support of the historical truth of Christianity; Plato, several times partially translated; D'Alembert, attacking Jesuits; Thomas Phillips, provoking Protestant writers with a polemic life of Cardinal Reginald Pole and returning their fire; Anchitel Grey, recording late seventeenth-century debates in Parliament that were still (or again) controversial; Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, published in selected letters and fugitive pieces; Arthur Murphy,

## List 2

Moderate References, *Monthly Review*, 8 or more

- |                                                   |                                            |                                            |
|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1. Pitt, 106                                      | 24. Hume, 16                               | 41. Robert Lloyd (author), 10              |
| 2. Wilkes, 84                                     | 25. Charles I, 15                          | 45. Lord Bolingbroke, 9                    |
| 3. Bute, 65                                       | 25. George Colman (playwright), 15         | 45. Boerhaave, 9                           |
| 4. Churchill, 47                                  | 25. Linnaeus, 15                           | 45. Coke (law), 9                          |
| 5. Voltaire, 41                                   | 28. Queen Charlotte, 14                    | 45. King David, 9                          |
| 6. Sterne, 37                                     | 28. Robert Lowth (religion), 14            | 45. Dryden, 9                              |
| 7. Shakespeare, 34                                | 28. John Wesley, 14                        | 45. Benjamin Franklin, 9                   |
| 8. St Paul, 33                                    | 28. George Whitefield (religion), 14       | 45. E. Harwood (religion), 9               |
| 9. Warburton, 32                                  | 32. Arthur Murphy, 13                      | 45. Haweis (simony scandal), 9             |
| 10. George III, 26                                | 33. Aristotle, 12                          | 45. John Langhorne (belles lettres), 9     |
| 10. Milton, 26                                    | 33. Charles II, 12                         | 45. Duke of Newcastle (late politician), 9 |
| 12. Newton, 25                                    | 33. Thomas Gray, 12                        | 45. Socrates, 9                            |
| 12. Pope, 25                                      | 36. Addison, 11                            | 56. Calvin, 8                              |
| 12. Rousseau, 25                                  | 36. Cicero, 11                             | 56. Charles XII of Sweden, 8               |
| 15. Horace, 23                                    | 36. Montesquieu, 11                        | 56. William Dodd (religion), 8             |
| 15. Locke, 23                                     | 36. Moses, 11                              | 56. George Grenville (politician), 8       |
| 17. Samuel Foote (actor, playwright), 21          | 36. Plato, 11                              | 56. Benjamin Kennicott (Bible scholar), 8  |
| 17. Garrick, 21                                   | 41. J. H. S. Formey (German, philos.), 10  | 56. Luther, 8                              |
| 19. James Macpherson (poet of <i>Fingal</i> ), 20 | 41. James Hervey (religion), 10            | 56. Swift, 8                               |
| 20. Virgil, 19                                    | 41. John Hill (botany, belles lettres), 10 |                                            |
| 21. Frederick the Great, 18                       |                                            |                                            |
| 21. George II, 18                                 |                                            |                                            |
| 21. Homer, 18                                     |                                            |                                            |

producing a steady stream of plays; Hume, a target for orthodox moralists who was also involved in well-publicized personal difficulties with Rousseau; Horace Walpole, publishing (besides the originally anonymous *Castle of Otranto*) editions of Vertue's materials on the arts in England and a defense of Richard III.

Aside from the controversy (growing from about 1764) over the respective rights and responsibilities of mother country and colonies, which involved conditions and principles rather than individuals, politicians and current celebrities dominate the "Monthly Catalogue" sections, where pamphlets were reviewed; they therefore lead in Moderate References. Though Wilkes, Bute, and Pitt were the objects of no major works reviewed in

## List 3

Moderate References, *Critical Review*, 8 or more

- |                                       |                                                     |                                               |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1. Pitt, 99                           | 25. George II, 15                                   | 41. Joseph Priestley, 10                      |
| 2. Wilkes, 86                         | 25. Moses, 15                                       | 48. Charles II, 9                             |
| 3. Bute, 74                           | 28. King David, 14                                  | 48. Robert Clive (empire<br>builder), 9       |
| 4. Churchill, 44                      | 28. Queen Elizabeth, 14                             | 48. Dryden, 9                                 |
| 5. Shakespeare, 43                    | 28. Robert Lowth (religion),<br>14                  | 48. John Hill (botany, belles<br>lettres), 9  |
| 6. Voltaire, 34                       | 31. Addison, 13                                     | 48. Samuel Johnson, 9                         |
| 7. St Paul, 32                        | 31. George Colman, 13                               | 48. St Matthew, 9                             |
| 8. Horace, 28                         | 31. Hume, 13                                        | 48. John Wesley, 9                            |
| 9. Pope, 27                           | 34. James Scott (poet,<br>priest), 12               | 48. George Whitefield, 9                      |
| 10. Virgil, 25                        | 35. Mir Jaffir (nabob), 11                          | 48. William III, 9                            |
| 11. Sterne, 23                        | 35. Linnaeus, 11                                    | 48. Sarah Woodcock (rape<br>case), 9          |
| 11. Warburton, 23                     | 35. Luther, 11                                      | 58. Cossim Ali Khan<br>(nabob), 8             |
| 13. George III, 22                    | 35. James Macpherson<br>( <i>Fingal</i> , etc.), 11 | 58. Thomas Gray, 8                            |
| 14. St John, 20                       | 35. Mohammed, 11                                    | 58. Haweis (simony scandal), 8                |
| 14. Locke, 20                         | 35. Montesquieu, 11                                 | 58. James I, 8                                |
| 16. Homer, 19                         | 41. Lord Bolingbroke, 10                            | 58. Lord Chief Justice<br>Mansfield, 8        |
| 16. Milton, 19                        | 41. Cromwell, 10                                    | 58. Duke of Newcastle (late<br>politician), 8 |
| 18. Charles I, 18                     | 41. Duke of Cumberland<br>(late general), 10        | 58. Samuel Richardson, 8                      |
| 19. Cicero, 17                        | 41. Henry VIII, 10                                  | 58. Sophocles, 8                              |
| 19. Samuel Foote, 17                  | 41. John Langhorne (belles<br>lettres), 10          | 58. Vansittart (E. India Co.), 8              |
| 19. Garrick, 17                       | 41. Pliny, 10                                       |                                               |
| 19. Newton, 17                        |                                                     |                                               |
| 19. Rousseau, 17                      |                                                     |                                               |
| 24. Frederick the Great, 16           |                                                     |                                               |
| 25. Lord Baltimore (rape<br>case), 15 |                                                     |                                               |

either magazine, and Wilkes's short history of England was admired by neither, they were the most prominent figures in the decade, as the Moderate References evidence. Only Churchill, granted his fearsome ability by both sets of reviewers, joins the ubiquitous Voltaire in bridging the top of the relatively literary world of the Major References and the political and sensational world of the Moderate References.

As with Churchill and Warburton, Voltaire's frequency of publication and contentiousness contribute to his prominence. To a certain extent, controversy also accounted for most of the current figures who are prominent and even for some older ones like King David, Henry VIII, and Cromwell. Performing regularly and publishing a number of farces during the decade, Foote also provoked a flurry of Methodist pamphlets with a character in *The Minor*. Garrick was not only the much discussed actor but also the chief initiator of the Shakespeare Jubilee, the chief butt of those who laughed at it, and the target of angry playwrights whose works he would not stage. Rousseau, who published *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, *Emile*, and a number of socially provocative major essays in the decade, also quarreled publicly with Hume on his visit to England and with a good many people in Switzerland and France. When Lord Baltimore was accused of rape by Sarah Woodcock, pamphleteers grinned and chose up sides. As a leading *casus belli*, Frederick the Great was to a certain extent controversial during the war, though as a general and England's chief ally he was most often praised; afterwards, still an ally, he was also an active author and desirable patron. Colman wrote plays through the decade and like Garrick was involved in disputes over the theater he managed. Mir Jaffier and Cossim Ali Khan, competing Indian nabobs, were central in extensive arguments over the part the East India Company was playing at the front of British imperialism. Wesley and Whitefield, the chief Methodists, gave and took in the religious pamphlet wars. Lowth and Haweis were likewise involved in religious disputes, the former as the gentlemanly favorite against Warburton, the latter in a nasty simony case; Harwood, Hervey, and Kennicott at least partially argued religious issues or were argued about.

Like Sterne's and Churchill's successes, Macpherson's Ossianic poems aroused controversy, in this case over Scottish nationalism. Their greater prominence in the *Monthly* than in the *Critical* Moderate References, therefore, is surprising, considering the edgy Scottish self-consciousness of the *Critical* reviewers.<sup>10</sup> But rather than fight outside its regular re-

<sup>10</sup> The very sensitive Smollett ran the magazine from 1756 through the spring of 1763, and among his early colleagues were the Scots Armstrong and Mur-

dock. See Derek Roper "Smollett's 'Four Gentlemen': The First Contributors to the *Critical Review*" *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 10 (1959) 38-44.

views in praise of the poems, the *Critical* used the “Monthly Catalogue” to mention relatively few of the pamphlets attacking or burlesquing *Fingal*. Other frequently noted figures involve some element of controversy also: Hume, already an authority of enormous stature in history and philosophy, was a target of the orthodox for his views on religion and human nature, and Bolingbroke was their evil deist. Lord Mansfield was prominent in pamphlets because of his anti-Wilkesite decisions, the late Duke of Newcastle and the current George Grenville because of political partisanship, Vansittart and Clive because of the East India Company controversies.

By contrast, some figures were prominently beyond dispute, the standards in their specialties. St Paul’s area, the broadest of all, ranks him among the most firmly established figures in the mind of the time; aside from constituting holy writ and authoritative guidance, his writings were often the texts for sermons and the materials for historical evaluation of Christian positions. Institutions, George III and his Queen Charlotte were saluted on his accession, on their marriage, and on the birth of an heir, and they remained available during the decade for poems, political reference, and pleas. For psychology always and for political theory often, Locke is the basis of acceptability whom writers are expected to cite and measure up to. Although there were still some who challenged Newton’s cosmogony,<sup>11</sup> his was the great overshadowing name for studies in physics, astronomy, and mathematics. Among contemporaries in specific fields, the *Monthly* and *Critical* both cited Gray, but with less emphasis than we might expect of the model for the unwearied elegists and pindarizers of the decade; Montesquieu, who was usually admired in *Monthly* references to political theory and political economy and sometimes damned in *Critical* ones as a busybody; John Hill, the botanist–quack–belles-lettrist that both reviews alternately approved and derided; and Johnson. Linnaeus had recently achieved standing almost comparable to Newton’s in biology, particularly in botany, as Coke had long been the base for legal thought in England. In the narrow field of electricity, Franklin was the world’s great name; in the vaguer one of medicine, the older Boerhaave was still invoked.

But despite excitement on this issue or that, the continuing and pervasive influence of the great figures is notable in the consciousness of these educated Englishmen. Shakespeare, though he was specially notable through the several editions in the decade and the Jubilee, is essentially residual, part of the mind of the time as he is part of ours, available for allusion by anyone on any subject. So also are Horace, Virgil, Homer, Cicero, and Milton; and readers

11 One William Hillary, M.D., for example, seriously proposed laws of motion alternative to Newton’s in his *The Nature, Properties, and Laws of Motion of*

*Fire discovered and demonstrated*, reviewed in MR 22 (Jan 1760) 1–14.

who think these self-evident might consider who is not in this category. Dryden appears on these lists, but not very high; Addison, respectably higher; but Aristotle attains only one list, and Ovid neither; and as to the English Augustans, Prior, Waller, even Gay, who according to the stubbornly persistent older view should be most prominent, are not even in the running; nor is Juvenal, though he certainly influenced mid-eighteenth-century literature.<sup>12</sup> General readers and scholars may be expecting purely literary names; but these lists reflect wider concerns.

In Lists 4 and 5 we come to the fundamental reservoir of names in the literate mind of England in the 1760s, sometimes the practitioners in the field to whom one cannot help referring, sometimes the figure who comes to mind to illustrate or comment on a point. In general, these names formed the bases of the occasional lists drawn up by contemporaries (e.g., the writers in surveys like Edward Watkinson's original essays for the *Critical* or the historians that William Smith recommended to students).<sup>13</sup> They are the people one has studied in school, the names one has dealt with in one's profession, the figures whom others will recognize in context. Naturally, those that are highly specialized—such as John Swinton, an authority on ancient coins—will not appear twenty or more times in a decade in general reviewing magazines. What we find will be the people, by and large, whom both anatomists and Near-Eastern geographers can recognize. All professions in the 1760s can find an apposite quotation in Shakespeare, Pope, Horace, Virgil, Cicero, or Milton, or a pertinent situation out of Homer.

Immediately, one notices the relative disappearance of the contemporary from this reservoir. The king, it is true, is by far most frequently referred to (partly because of my method of counting, which included a reference when anyone was listed as Chief Ratcatcher to His Majesty, or Captain of His Majesty's sloop Whatever), but a king was a conventional Institution, and therefore most references were not really to the individual temporarily in the job. But after moving a fair distance to find Pitt and Bute, and quite a bit further for

12. For one example of the old view on the Augustans, see Claude E. Jones "Poetry and the *Critical Review*, 1756-1785" *Modern Language Quarterly* 9 (1948) 17-36; for a thoughtful discussion of Juvenal's influence, see Howard D. Weinbrot "History, Horace, and Augustus Caesar: Some Implications for Eighteenth-Century Satire" *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 7 (1974) 391-414.

13. Edward Watkinson's survey of world literature appeared in six parts in CR from 1761 through 1765, as Claude E. Jones notes in "Contributors to the *Critical*

*Review* 1756-1785" *Modern Language Notes* 61 (1946) 441. William Smith's *Student's Vade Mecum*, reviewed in CR 28 (Dec 1769) 430-36, seems to list every historian anyone in the eighteenth century had ever heard of. Other writers whose lists of eminences in literature seem orthodox, to judge by the reviews in this period, are Lord Kames in his *Elements of Criticism* (honored by the CR critic, 13 [May 1762] 365-79) and Ogilvie in *Solitude, or Elysium of the Poets*, which was dended for triteness in CR 21 (May 1766) 363-69.

Wilkes, we have exhausted our supply of political figures. Other living people are surprisingly few: Voltaire, Louis XV (also largely an Institution, His Most Christian Majesty), Rousseau, Frederick the Great, Montesquieu, Hume, Churchill, Warburton, Garrick, Johnson, Lord Lyttelton, Dodsley, D'Alembert. A few of the others were moderately recent: Pope, Swift, Addison, Samuel Clarke, Richard Mead, Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Bolingbroke. But on the whole, these collections are remarkable for the dominance of standard, traditional figures out of the classical past as literature and political event; out of history—

List 4

Casual References, *Monthly Review*, 20 or more

- |                             |                               |                                    |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. George III, 145          | 28. Rousseau, 42              | 52. Hippocrates, 28                |
| 2. Pope, 142                | 29. Charles I, 40             | 52. William III, 28                |
| 3. Virgil, 103              | 29. Dryden, 40                | 57. Abraham, 27                    |
| 4. Horace, 101              | 29. George II, 40             | 57. Ovid, 27                       |
| 5. Cicero, 94               | 32. Frederick the Great, 37   | 59. Queen Anne, 26                 |
| 6. Moses, 93                | 33. Socrates, 36              | 59. Garrick, 26                    |
| 7. Milton, 85               | 33. Tacitus, 36               | 59. Pythagoras, 26                 |
| 7. Shakespeare, 85          | 35. Bacon, 35                 | 62. Pierre Bayle (savant), 24      |
| 9. St Paul, 81              | 35. King David, 35            | 62. Cato, 24                       |
| 9. Plato, 81                | 35. Solomon, 35               | 62. Cervantes, 24                  |
| 11. Homer, 76               | 38. Calvin, 34                | 62. Queen Elizabeth, 24            |
| 12. Newton, 70              | 38. Montesquieu, 34           | 62. Samuel Johnson, 24             |
| 13. Caesar, 62              | 38. Wilkes, 34                | 62. Lord Lyttelton (author), 24    |
| 14. Alexander the Great, 61 | 41. St John, 33               | 68. Dodsley (bookseller), 23       |
| 14. Aristotle, 61           | 41. Mohammed, 33              | 69. Grotius, 22                    |
| 16. Locke, 58               | 43. Hume, 32                  | 69. Hobbes, 22                     |
| 17. Voltaire, 55            | 43. James I, 32               | 69. Job, 22                        |
| 18. Swift, 54               | 45. Adam, 31                  | 69. St Matthew, 22                 |
| 19. Pitt, 53                | 45. Charles Churchill, 31     | 69. Richard Mead (late doctor), 22 |
| 20. Bute, 50                | 45. Luther, 31                | 69. Sophocles, 22                  |
| 21. Addison, 47             | 45. Warburton, 31             | 75. Samuel Butler, 21              |
| 21. Louis XIV, 47           | 49. James II, 30              | 75. Quintilian, 21                 |
| 23. Cromwell, 46            | 49. St Peter, 30              | 77. D'Alembert, 20                 |
| 23. Louis XV, 46            | 51. Plutarch, 29              | 77. Henry VIII, 20                 |
| 25. Boerhaave, 43           | 52. Augustus, 28              | 77. Seneca, 20                     |
| 25. Charles II, 43          | 52. Lord Bolingbroke, 28      |                                    |
| 25. Pliny, 43               | 52. Samuel Clarke (theo.), 28 |                                    |



particularly English history of the preceding 250 years with the same emphasis on Reformation and Civil War as in the Moderate References; out of the two Testaments of the Bible; out of classical English literature. Pope, Shakespeare, and Milton are the great English literary wells, with Swift, Dryden, and Addison coming into greater prominence than in the Moderate References, Spenser newly available lower down, and Samuel Butler as well as Buckingham (for *The Rehearsal*, one of the most widely referred to plays in the decade); and Bacon moves ahead of Coke, offering more to the general mind than legal decisions.

Although this conservative orientation accorded with an aesthetic that affirmed the basic and agreed upon to be the true archetype of human life, some of its elements reward a second look: if Chaucer and the secondary Renaissance figures (after Shakespeare of course, and also Ben Jonson and Spenser, who come low on my lists or just off them) were important only to literary students, educated readers generally were under no illusions about the relative importance of Shakespeare and Milton as against, say, Butler, Steele, Prior, or Waller. They seem to have felt and thought just what their aesthetic urged, a responsiveness to an underlying fullness of vision rather than to mere elegance or decorum. They thought Pope was important—they knew him intimately, as they knew Horace and Virgil intimately—but their sympathy diminished as it approached his shadows.

Among the ancients, Virgil, Horace, Cicero, and Homer would be more or less expected, but Plato may come as a surprise.<sup>14</sup> The Roman historians have surfaced, and Ovid even squeezes onto one list, with Longinus bringing up the rear. But Juvenal was not mentioned twenty times in either magazine, nor were the lesser English Augustans—again, I think, significant if we wish to evaluate the taste and canons of the period. To judge by the rapturous responses to Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*, the Ossianic stuff, and Rousseau, one would have guessed that Longinus and the Longinians would be vastly more significant than the numbers indicate; to judge by the generally decorous concern that novels make sense and poems and plays suit genres, one might expect more references to Prior, Congreve, and Fielding. But one would be disappointed; even in these traditionally oriented journals, artistic and social references on Tables IV and VII take up only a third or so of the mental interest. A purely literary figure, even if stimulating to current poets, therefore cannot be very high on the lists.

Aside from Classical figures, Englishmen, the currently exciting Frenchmen Voltaire,

14. As Table I indicates, Plato had been brought to the fore in the 1760s by current translations. But both his and Socrates' appearance on the Moderate References suggests a greater prominence than people

might have thought even then, to judge by the MR's comment that Sydenham's translation of the *Symposium* would not succeed because "in one word, *Plato is unfashionable*" (26 [Mar 1762] 196).

Rousseau, D'Alembert, and Montesquieu, and biblical and religious people from distant places and times, some new foreigners appear. Boerhaave comes moderately high on the *Monthly* list; a long way afterward, Bayle the dictionary savant; Cervantes, almost wholly through reference to his masterpiece; Grotius, particularly on law; Raphael and Boileau—long delayed, for anyone who imagines the English eighteenth century as hidebound in classicism—on the *Critical* list. A great many others were very well known, though at a level of general recognition too low for our lists, which include only the most frequent references.

List 5

Casual References, *Critical Review*, 20 or more

- |                             |                               |                            |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. George III, 150          | 26. Tacitus, 43               | 52. Livy, 29               |
| 2. Pope, 131                | 29. Locke, 42                 | 52. Ovid, 29               |
| 3. Shakespeare, 120         | 30. Alexander the Great, 40   | 56. Adam, 28               |
| 4. Cicero, 117              | 30. Henry VIII, 40            | 57. Queen Anne, 27         |
| 5. Horace, 107              | 30. James II, 40              | 57. Montesquieu, 27        |
| 6. Virgil, 97               | 30. Louis XV, 40              | 59. Cervantes, 26          |
| 7. St Paul, 92              | 34. Pliny, 38                 | 59. Grotius, 26            |
| 8. Homer, 91                | 35. Bacon, 37                 | 59. Edward Hyde, Earl of   |
| 9. Milton, 81               | 35. Plutarch, 37              | Clarendon, 26              |
| 10. Moses, 74               | 35. William III, 37           | 59. Socrates, 26           |
| 11. Caesar, 71              | 38. George II, 35             | 63. Samuel Johnson, 25     |
| 12. Addison, 66             | 38. St Peter, 35              | 63. Raphael, 25            |
| 13. Newton, 61              | 40. Mohammed, 34              | 63. Sir Robert Walpole, 25 |
| 13. Plato, 61               | 41. Ben Jonson, 33            | 66. Boileau, 24            |
| 15. Swift, 56               | 41. Warburton, 33             | 66. St Matthew, 24         |
| 16. Aristotle, 54           | 43. Lord Bolingbroke, 32      | 68. Abraham, 22            |
| 16. Queen Elizabeth, 54     | 43. Wilkes, 32                | 68. St Augustine, 22       |
| 16. Frederick the Great, 54 | 45. Augustus, 31              | 68. Charles Churchill, 22  |
| 16. Louis XIV, 54           | 45. Calvin, 31                | 68. Spenser, 22            |
| 16. Voltaire, 54            | 47. D. of Buckingham          | 72. Boerhaave, 21          |
| 21. Charles I, 53           | ( <i>Rehearsal</i> ), 30      | 72. Luther, 21             |
| 22. Bute, 46                | 47. Cromwell, 30              | 72. Xenophon, 21           |
| 22. James I, 46             | 47. King David, 30            | 75. Coke (law), 20         |
| 24. Dryden, 45              | 47. Quintilian, 30            | 75. Eve, 20                |
| 25. Charles II, 44          | 47. Solomon, 30               | 75. George I, 20           |
| 26. St John, 43             | 52. Bishop Gilbert Burnet, 29 | 75. Longinus, 20           |
| 26. Pitt, 43                | 52. Samuel Butler, 29         |                            |

To judge by a review of Italian literature, for example, Petrarch and Boccaccio could be mentioned casually, though it is true that one of their older contemporaries needed more elaborate identification: in the fourteenth century, the reviewer writes,

the celebrated Dante flourished, to whom the Italian tongue owes its chief improvement. He lived till the year 1321, and was the first of the moderns that undertook to write an heroic poem, which he executed so well, that his work is to this day generally admired by the Italians, but for the purity of the language. (CR 17 [Apr 1764] 258)

Now, after all this arithmetic, all these tables and lists, what do we have? Mainly, I hope, an anatomy of the educated mind of the English 1760s, with some idea—outlined particularly on the tables—of the relative allocation of its interests. In addition, the tables and lists may lead us to useful comparison with other times and milieus—with similarly derived figures for later in the century perhaps, with colonial or provincial magazines for the same time, with general-interest magazines, or even with those of another culture. For example, the *Monthly Review's* Appendixes, on French and other continental works, seemed more heavily laden with Classical and historical names than the rest of the magazine, but I did not attempt to analyze them separately because the books were selected by Griffiths' specialists and therefore may have been unrepresentative of their sources. If any reviewing situation like that of London in the 1760s obtained in France, Spain, Holland, or Italy at the time, or indeed anywhere else, these comparisons might give us a good deal of precise and therefore useful information. As against fashionable linguistic, psychological, or sociological pastimes that define a time by the author's dreams about paternal authority, generative grammar, the Puritan or bourgeois personality, or the cosiest relations among social classes, lists and tables like these may actually help us to know something about an age's literary, religious, historical, political, and scientific interests.

If we know the proportionate direction of interest in a given period, we may be better able to explore the murky problem of an author's relation to his time, or to the mental expectations of his time. For example, scholars have pointed out Sterne's exploitation of contemporary discussions of childbirth; now his rootedness in the time can be defined more closely by the amount of current religious and medical controversy. Counting his references and comparing them to my tables and lists might conceivably tell us more yet about the nature of his contemporary success. It might be possible to examine writers like Smollett, Goldsmith, Burke, and Johnson, all active in the 1760s; Boswell and Gibbon, beginning to publish then; and even Cowper, not yet writing but immensely sensitive, for their consistency or divergence from the general patterns of reference in their day. Or one could look to see whether currently great successes are closer in their frequency and kind of reference

to the norms of their time than some other works that either died stillborn or came into repute only later—those that were ahead of their time or behind it.

Finally, I hope this experiment will help guide students of the eighteenth century to its most basic people. Except for the economic, political, and diplomatic issues so grand as to transcend individuals—enclosure, food prices, agricultural productivity, peace and war, and American colonial affairs—the interests of the time are tied to the names on the lists and the proportions on the tables. Using them, a student of the 1760s would learn to be familiar with the staples of English history from Henry VIII on, particularly Reformation, Civil War, Restoration, and Glorious Revolution; and also with the writings of Shakespeare, St Paul, Pope, Milton, Virgil, Horace, Homer, Cicero, Plato, Aristotle, Swift, Voltaire, Rousseau, Addison, Locke, Hume, Montesquieu, Bolingbroke, Smollett, and Johnson. This is really not an immense amount for professional study, and it might well, within plausible limits, guide anthologists too.

Furthermore, anyone who wants to know what people were immediately excited about in the 1760s in England should read up on Wilkes, Bute, and Pitt, perhaps beginning with the poems of Churchill. No matter what his subject, he should know what he can about Voltaire, Rousseau, Johnson, Warburton, and Sterne. Consider the fate of a biological historian pursuing his innocent pleasures in a review of *The History of the Royal Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres at Berlin, for the year 1764*. Without Sterne, what would become of his self-confidence, not to mention his animal spirits, to read of experiments—“by M. Jacobi, an intelligent and learned naturalist”—for the artificial union of the sperm and egg in salmon:

According to the system of that profound and original philosopher, the elder Mr. Shandy, as given us in the first pages of the life and opinions of his son, the frame of mind of the *generant* is of great importance on this occasion. Now, though we cannot pretend to guess at what passes in the head of the male fish, while under Mr. Jacobi's hand, suspended in a new and strange element, and excited in an unusual manner; yet, if a salmon have any power of imagination, or the least glimmering of sentiment, the course of his animal spirits, and of his ideas, must be greatly disturbed, one should think, at the singularity, or, we may call it, the *monstrosity* of Mr. Jacobi's *manoeuvres*; and must, in some degree, make an impression on the tender SALMUNCULI. Father Shandy would doubtless have expected that gorgons, chimeras, or flying dragons, rather than salmon, would have been the produce of the operation transacted in this manner.—But this is too profound and nice a speculation to be prosecuted any further in this place, and is worthy only to have been investigated by the original and excentrick proposer. (MR 40 [1769] 561–62)

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## Communication

### "G. Eliot's 'love' letters"

#### Unpublished Letters from George Eliot to Herbert Spencer

HERBERT SPENCER died in 1904, and by his will he established a trust to carry out certain of his wishes. In the mid-1930s the trustees determined that the purposes for which the trust had been established had been fulfilled, and they decided to bring it to an end. In the course of distributing assorted memorabilia for which they had acted as caretakers, they gave "G. Eliot's 'love' letters" to the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> Support of the Keeper of Manuscripts and approval by the Trustees of the British Library now have made possible study and publication of the letters.<sup>2</sup>

In the decades of his fame Spencer battled tenaciously to force others to see his relationship with GE<sup>3</sup> in a light flattering to his own conduct.<sup>4</sup> The materials which his trustees deposited include a letter hitherto unknown in which Spencer recorded the truest account he ever furnished of what had happened. On February 3 1881 he wrote in his own hand on the

1 Minute book of Spencer's trustees, University of London Library MS.791/357, meeting of October 28 1936, quoted by permission of the Director of the University of London Library.

2 Spencer's trustees stipulated as a condition of their gift that access to the letters, which were actually deposited Aug 21 1935, should be barred until 1985 unless agreed to by the Trustees of the British Museum. The Department of Manuscripts, formerly in the British Museum, now is a part of the Reference Division of the British Library. I am most grateful to D. P. Waley, Keeper of Manuscripts, and to the British Library Board, who enabled me to consult these letters as part of my work on a biography of Spencer. The letters, together with associated items given at the same time, form Reserved Manuscript 49.

Permission to publish these letters has been given by Professor Gordon Haight, whom G. H. Lewes's granddaughter the late Mrs E. C. Ouvry authorized to publish for the first time all unpublished manuscripts of

George Eliot and G. H. Lewes. GE's handwriting offers some problems of decipherment. I am indebted to Professor Haight for his suggestions in this regard.

The letters have been alluded to by Professor Haight in his edition of *The George Eliot Letters* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ Press 1954-55) VI 310, n. 1, and in his biography *George Eliot* (NY and Oxford: Oxford Univ Press and Clarendon Press 1968) 122. Hereafter I will cite the first work as *GE Letters*, the second as *GE*. I acknowledge with thanks the permission of Yale University Press to quote from the former, and of the Clarendon Press, Oxford, and the Oxford University Press, New York, to quote from the latter.

3 I follow Haight's admirable solution to the problem of George Eliot's many names and call her simply GE (*GE Letters* I xxxvii).

4 *GE* 120-22. It is clear from other papers deposited along with the letters that David Duncan, the biographer whom Spencer selected for himself, heard from Spencer a fairly full account of what happened, and

stationery of his club, The Athenæum, to his close American friend and leading supporter Edward L. Youmans, and an influential editor and spokesman for science. The delicacy and centrality of the episode for Spencer stand out in his refusal to use an amanuensis, unlike his usual practice in these years.<sup>5</sup>

"For these 28 years I have never dropped either word or hint to my most intimate friend (not even to my father)<sup>6</sup> concerning the affair," but now he was stung by a remark in a newspaper that "it is rumoured that he once loved George Eliot." Such bits of gossip circulated on both sides of the Atlantic in a variety of versions: one held that a marriage had not taken place because Spencer objected to matrimony. Now, he said to Youmans, he was moved by a desire to avert injury to the memory of the great writer who had died recently, and by a concern for avoiding harm to himself. Spencer's confession makes far more understandable the letters from George Eliot which he chose to preserve.<sup>7</sup>

after Spencer's death read the letters from GE. In a memorandum which Duncan wrote out in 1894 "immediately after Spencer told me the story," he said: "H. S. wishes this matter to be clearly dealt with in Bio, the letters being referred to, but not published." Duncan's actual account (*The Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer* [NY: Appleton 1908] 183 [ch. vi], 356-58 [ch. xviii]; [London: Methuen 1908] 63, 266; abbreviated D and D(L) hereafter) mostly refers the reader to Spencer's autobiography for a picture of the tie to GE, and otherwise stresses Spencer's efforts to make J. W. Cross deny flatly in his life of GE that Spencer had ever been in love with her. Spencer's loudly proclaimed sensitivity about the nature of his connection with GE was well known to his friends, acquaintances, and associates. It must have reached out posthumously to check his biographer and keep the letters hidden, and probably also led his trustees serving in 1935 to seal the letters for an additional half century. Perhaps his first trustees had moved by themselves to prevent Duncan from revealing all that he knew.

5 Twenty years later Spencer still emphasized the significance of his personally writing this letter; a letter to J. W. Cross, Feb 12 1902, in the present papers, includes this remark.

6 On June 22 1852 Spencer brought his father to visit Marian Evans (*GE Letters* II 37). In a footnote to the letter describing this visit, Haight quotes a letter from Spencer to J. W. Cross, Oct 21 1884: until 1881, Spencer

says, he had "never dropped a word to anyone—not even my father" about his relations with GE. In the letter to J. W. Cross, Feb 12 1902, already mentioned in fn 5 above, Spencer repeated what he had said in the confidential letter to Youmans: he had never told anyone, not even his father. Spencer had, however, told his friend Edward Lott, in a letter of Apr 23 1852, that he was on very intimate terms with GE (Herbert Spencer *An Autobiography* [NY: Appleton 1904] 1457, cited hereafter as A, Spencer *An Autobiography* [London: Watts & Co. 1926, reprint of London: Williams & Norgate 1904] 1394-95, cited hereafter as A(L); Haight quotes this passage in his *George Eliot and John Chapman* [New Haven: Yale Univ Press 1940; reprinted with same pagination, Hamden, Conn: Archon 1969] 48 and in *GE* 112-13).

The remainder of Spencer's 1881 letter to Youmans makes quite apparent that Spencer meant he had in fact never told anyone the full story of what he had done, and what he had failed to do.

7 Generally in this article I have followed Gordon Haight's editorial practice (*GE Letters* 1 xxxv): most contractions and abbreviations have been expanded, occasional punctuation marks have been added in the interest of easier reading. The frequent dashes on a level with the bottoms of many words have been raised to mid-letter height. Headings and closings of the GE letters are given as nearly as possible as they appear in the originals. The use of italics also follows underlining in the original

My friendship with Miss Evans began in 1851 and soon became very intimate. Having at that time free admission for two, to the Opera, the Theatres, Concerts etc., and liking her society very much, I was in the habit of frequently taking her; and we were also thrown together in matters concerning the *Westminster Review*. After a time I began to have qualms as to what might result from this constant companionship. Great as was my admiration for her, considered both morally and intellectually, and decided as was my feeling of friendship, I could not perceive in myself any indication of a warmer feeling, and it occurred to me that mischief would possibly follow if our relation continued. These qualms led me to take a strange step—an absurd step in one sense. I wrote to her indicating as delicately as I could, my fears. Then afterwards, perceiving how insulting to her was the suggestion that while I felt in no danger of falling in love with her she was in danger of falling in love with me, I wrote a second letter, apologizing for my unintended insult. She took it all smilingly, quite understanding my motive and forgiving my rudeness. The consequence was that our intimacy continued as before. And then, by and by, just that which I feared might take place, did take place. Her feelings became involved and mine did not. The lack of physical attraction was fatal.<sup>8</sup> Strongly as my judgment prompted, my instincts would not respond.

It was a most painful affair, continuing thru the summer of 52, on through the autumn, and, I think, into the beginning of 53. She was very disponding and I passed the most miserable time that has occurred in my experience; for, hopeless as the relation was, she would not agree that we should cease to see one another. So much did I feel the evil that I had done involuntarily, or rather against my will, that I hinted at the possibility of marriage, even without positive affection on my part; but this she at once saw would lead to unhappiness. At length it happened that being with [George Henry] Lewes one day when I was on my way to see her, I invited him to go with me (they were already slightly known).<sup>9</sup> This happened two or three times; and then, on the third or fourth time, when I rose to leave, he said he should stay. From that time he commenced to go alone, and so the relation began—(his estrangement from his wife being then of long standing). When I saw the turn matters were taking, it was, of course, an immense relief to me.<sup>10</sup>

George Eliot's letters now follow, in their probable order of composition. Spencer treasured the four from the time of his closest relation to GE because she wrote each at one of the crucial junctures described in his letter to Youmans. The fifth and last embodies a reconciliation ending a stressful period in Spencer's later friendship with GE and Lewes.

8 Haight shows the transparency of this excuse, *GE* 115; see also *A* 1 422-23, *A(L)* 1 365.

9 They met first on Oct 6 1851. GE returned to London from her seaside vacation in 1852 on Aug 28. On Sept 18 she wrote: "Lewes called on me the other day," and on Nov 22, "when I had sat down . . . thinking that I had two clear hours before dinner—rap at the door—Mr. Lewes—who of course sits talking till the second bell rings." See *GE* 127; *GE Letters* II 53 n. 6, 56, 68.

10 "All this I tell you in confidence," Spencer con-

tinued, in a sentence which he underlined twice. Youmans, as well as his other friends Thomas Huxley and John Tyndall, was receiving the facts so that each could deny in private all tales that Spencer had been in love, all rumors that a marriage might have taken place. Let denial have whatever effect it could, Spencer advised Youmans. The circumstances which Spencer had just recounted "you will of course *keep secret*." He underlined the last two words once.

## I

[no heading or date]<sup>11</sup>

Dear Friend

Not for the "satisfaction of breaking a conventionalism", but for the sake of hearing *Le Prophète* and yet more of hearing it with you, I accept your kind proposal. I am not sure that I understand your note, or rather, I am sure that I do not. But prior to all further explanation, or, if you wish, to the exclusion of it, let me assure you that I never imputed to you an ungenerous thought. I felt disappointed rather than "hurt" that you should not have sufficiently divined my character to perceive how remote it is from my habitual state of mind to imagine that any one is falling in love with me. But perhaps I still misapprehend you, so I will run no risk of blundering further. I will only say, that I value your regard very highly, and that the more strictly truthful you are to me, both explicitly and implicitly, the better I like you.

Yours very sincerely  
 MARIAN EVANS

142 Strand  
 Wednesday

<sup>11</sup> In *The Times* for Wednesday, Apr 21 1852, the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden, announced the first performance of "*Le Prophète*" during the current season for Saturday, Apr 24. In *The Times* on Apr 24 the Royal Italian management stated that they hoped to obtain the dissolution during that day, Saturday, of an injunction in force against Mlle Johanna Wagner, the long-awaited star of "*Le Prophète*." The injunction had resulted from a dispute about the auspices under which the singer should make her English debut. If the effort to end the injunction failed, the management declared, they would substitute "I Martini." They expressed the hope that patrons holding tickets for Saturday night would use them; otherwise, money would be refunded or tickets exchanged for another night. Later advertisements by the Royal Italian's rival, Her Majesty's Theatre, show the injunction still standing on May 1; no performance of "*Le Prophète*" by the Royal Italian Opera occurred up to mid-May. The project in fact appears to have been dropped.

In a letter to the Brays headed "Tuesday," and dated by Haight Apr 27 1852, GE wrote (*GE Letters* II 22): "I went to the opera on Saturday—I Martini, at Covent Garden—with my 'excellent friend Herbert Spencer,' as Lewes calls him. We have agreed that we are not in love with each other, and that there is no reason why we should not have as much of each other's society as we like. He is a good, delightful creature and I always feel better for being with him."

Accordingly, then, the first of these unpublished let-

ters may be dated Wednesday, Apr 21, and placed in the following sequence:

a In a letter, now lost, Spencer expressed fear that GE was falling in love with him, though he remained unaffected

b GE's reply of Apr 21

c A second letter, also lost, from Spencer, this time quite apologetic, as he noted to Youmans. The tone of the ending of GE's first letter certainly served to invite further discussion, and Spencer would have been prompted to write as well by the need to express his sense of shame and his remorse.

d Further discussion, at the opera on Saturday, Apr 24, and at other times and places, in all likelihood, leading to the conclusion that "we are not in love with each other, and . . . there is no reason why we should not have as much of each other's society as we like," expressed on Apr 27, followed by GE's underscoring of Spencer as "a good, delightful creature," but not someone sexually and matrimonially available. GE's position corresponds to Spencer's formulation for Youmans of the effect of his second letter: "She took it all smilingly, quite understanding my motive and forgiving my rudeness. The consequence was that our intimacy continued as before."

"Conventionalism," in the present letter's first sentence, was a term common in GE's circle both for proprieties in general and for a specific propriety: see *GE and John Chapman* 186 (Chapman's diary for June 27 1851), and *GE Letters* II 44.



Chandos Cottage.<sup>12</sup> Thursday<sup>13</sup>

Dear Friend

No credit to me for my virtues as a refrigerant. I owe them all to a few lumps of ice which I carried away with me from that tremendous glacier of yours. I am glad that Nemesis, lame as she is, has already made you feel a little uneasy in my absence, whether from the state of the thermometer or aught else. We will not inquire too curiously whether you long most for my society or for the sea-breezes. If you decided that I was not worth coming to see, it would only be of a piece with that generally exasperating perspicacity of yours which will not allow one to humbug you. (An agreeable quality! let me tell you, that capacity of being humbugged. But figure yourself on not possessing it.) But seriously and selfishness apart, I should like you to have the enjoyment of this pleasant place. The heat, tempered as it is here by the sea-breezes, is not at all oppressive, and only serves to give one a delicious, voluptuous laziness—there are fresh wild flowers coming out every day—the dear little creeping convolvulus and mignonette and others known to me by sight, but not by name; and then the sun-set over the plains of wheat and barley, and the sea studded with sails. Do come on Saturday if you would like it. There is a nice hotel where you can have a bed, and shant I be proud to do hospitalities once more? I think the Boat is better than the Excursion train—in spite of the shorter time of the latter—the heat and dust stretch 3 hours into 6.

I am ashamed to give a report of myself, for I have done nothing but dream away my time since

<sup>12</sup> Chandos Cottage is at Broadstairs, on the Kentish coast (*GE* 114; *GE Letters* II 42).

<sup>13</sup> The following sequence suggests a date for the letter:

Tuesday, June 29 1852, *GE* to Charles Bray: "Thank you a thousand times for the ribbon. But you sent me some rather hard words with it. I am not going to the coast *with* any one—but simply to do my health good—heaven knows with need enough" (*GE Letters* II 38).

Friday, July 2 1852, *GE* in London, packing (*GE Letters* II 41).

Sunday, July 4, *GE* at Broadstairs; she had arrived on Saturday (*GE Letters* II 42).

Thursday, July 8, the writing of this letter

Saturday, July 10, or perhaps the next day: Spencer's arrival in response to *GE*'s invitation of July 8.

Tuesday, July 13, *GE* to Charles Bray (*GE Letters* II 42-43): "I am obliged to write very hurriedly, as I am not alone. I am ashamed that I did not acknowledge receipt of the income-tax papers. I quite thought I had done so, and can only account for the omission by the agitation of feeling and the occupation of thought which I have had lately. . . . Do not add to the burthen of sadness which I have already by writing me harsh

reproving letters."

Between the first and the second of these unpublished letters an intimacy real though strange and strained had continued. At the end of May *GE* wrote to Mrs Bray (*GE Letters* II 29): "My brightest spot next to my love of old friends is the deliciously calm new friendship that Herbert Spencer gives me. We see each other every day and have a delightful *camaraderie* in everything." By mid-June "all the world is setting us down as engaged—a most disagreeable thing if one chose to make oneself uncomfortable" (*GE Letters* II 35).

The sharp tone in which *GE* referred, at the start of this second letter, to Spencer's coldness suggests strongly that the change which Spencer described to Youmans now was happening, and probably had been occurring for some time already: "And then, by and by, just that which I feared might take place, did take place. Her feelings became involved and mine did not." Nevertheless, Spencer made the first of two visits to *GE* during this summer of 1852; in his *Autobiography* he mentioned the visits but, with what Haight calls "careful vagueness" (*GE Letters* II 38 n. 7), he omitted the identity of his hostess.

I came—I think of retiring from the world, like old Weller,<sup>14</sup> if my good landlady will accept me as a tenant all the year round. I fancy I should soon be on an equality, in point of sensibility, with the star-fish and sea-egg—perhaps you will wickedly say, I certainly want little of being a *Medusa*. I have had a loathing for books—for all tagging together of sentences since I came, and have liked everything as indefinite as the sounds of an Æolian harp. You see I am sinking fast towards "homogeneity", and my brain will soon be a mere pulp unless you come to arrest the downward process.<sup>15</sup> I have read *Deerbrook*,<sup>16</sup> and am surprized at the depths of feelings it reveals. Rose, Blanche and Violet,<sup>17</sup> too—at least the two first volumes—the third I left behind and (damaging fact, either for me or the novel!) I don't care to have it. I have read a good deal of "In Memoriam"<sup>18</sup>—which, believe it or not, has great beauties—though the artificiality of the form is unforgiveable. Froude's much talked of article on Spinoza<sup>19</sup> too I have read at last, and find it a mere sketch of his life—picturesquely done but with the usual Froudian sentimentality and false veneration. This morning I

14 In the very last pages of *Pickwick Papers* Tony Weller, Sam's father, gave up driving a coach after a year because of gout. The income from a legacy well invested furnished "a handsome independence to retire upon," and, Dickens reports, he was still enjoying life at an excellent public house near Shorter's Hill.

The first of GE's letters from Broadstairs published by Haight, which he dates July 4, had already sounded the note of withdrawal's attractiveness: "I am thinking whether it would not be wise to retire from the world and live here for the rest of my days. With some fresh paper on the walls and an easy chair I think I could resign myself." She closed by asking Mrs Bray, "Come and tell me your opinion" (*GE Letters* II 42).

The energy and the critical capacity which allowed GE to accomplish a sizable amount of reading in a few days suggest that she was only partially ready to abandon the big and bustling world. She was suffering through a conflict in which her accomplishments thus far seemed deeply and perhaps everlastingly imperfect, puny next to the aspirations which she feared her flawed being would never allow her to turn into reality.

15 The idea that life in all its forms and phases developed from homogeneity to heterogeneity formed a central support for Spencer's work as a thinker. In print it seems to have appeared first at the close of his "The Philosophy of Style," published in *The Westminster Review* for Oct 1852. On Sept 2 GE was writing that the manuscript of the article was still to come (*GE Letters* II 54). Spencer certainly would have discussed the concept with GE earlier in 1852, and so she can swing easily into his way of thinking by remarking that she is, in effect, falling apart, dissolving into a kind of

primordially bland and undifferentiated mess. See A 1 470–71, A(L) 1 406; D II 319, 322 ("The Filiation of Ideas"), D(L) 544, 546.

16 Making out this word proved very difficult, and I am indebted to Dr Elizabeth Segel for the suggestion that GE had read a novel which Harriet Martineau published in 1839. GE already had met and liked Miss Martineau, and after the seaside vacation would visit her in Oct 1852 (*GE Letters* II 17, 32, 56, 65; *GE* 123–24). The novel does sound as if it could have stirred GE (see the summary in R. K. Webb, *Harriet Martineau; A Radical Victorian* [NY and London: Columbia Univ Press 1960] 183–90).

17 A novel which George Henry Lewes published in 1848 (*GE Letters* VII 507; *GE* 453 and n. 2). For other reactions see Edgar W. Hirshberg *George Henry Lewes* (NY: Twayne 1970) 40–46.

18 It had appeared in 1850. By 1877 GE thought the poem "the chief of the larger works" of Tennyson (*GE Letters* VI 416).

19 GE must be referring to an article on Spinoza's life which appeared in the *Oxford and Cambridge Review* 5 (Oct 1847), 387–427. The article is not cited by Herbert Paul, M. P. *The Life of Froude* (NY: Scribner's 1906) or by Waldo Hilary Dunn *James Anthony Froude, a Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon 1961–63). George Henry Lewes, *The Biographical History of Philosophy* (NY: Appleton 1857) 492 n., does mention it as "remarkable," and a reference is also given by Adolph S. Oko, compiler *The Spinoza Bibliography* (Boston: G. K. Hall 1964) 47. GE caught exactly the throbbing gushiness of the article.

determined to reform and plunged into Warburton<sup>20</sup>—Henceforth I mean to live laborious days—that is to say until I have made up my mind to fraternize with the star-fish.

In haste, Ever yours truly  
 MARIAN EVANS

I am horrified to see how I have blotted my letter. Grâce—

3

Broadstairs  
 Thursday Evening<sup>21</sup>

Dear Mr. Spencer

It would be ungenerous in me to allow you to suffer even a slight uneasiness on my account which I am able to remove. I ought at once to tell you, since I am closer with truth, that I am not

<sup>20</sup> William Warburton (1698–1779), English bishop, theologian, editor of Pope and Shakespeare. In *The Dictionary of National Biography* LIX 309, Leslie Stephen quoted Dr Johnson, who considered Warburton “perhaps the last man who has written with a mind full of reading and reflection.” Stephen continued, “To his admirers he represented the last worthy successor of the learned divines of the preceding century. His wide reading and rough intellectual vigour are undeniable.” An edition of his works in 1788 filled seven volumes. A tenth edition of one of his leading works, *The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated*, was published in London in 1846. (For guidance on Warburton I am grateful to Professor Arthur M. Eastman.)

<sup>21</sup> To date this letter:

Wednesday, July 14 1852, GE to Charles Bray: “I am sadly behind now with sundry readings and letters which have accumulated for the last few days. . . . If nothing happens to oblige me to return to London I think of staying here longer than a month—probably till after August” (*GE Letters* II 44; the dating is Haight’s).

Wednesday, July 21, GE to Charles Bray: “Do not be anxious about me—there is no cause. I am profiting, body and mind, from quiet walks and talks with Nature. . . . If you insist on my writing about ‘Emotions,’ why, I must get some up expressly for the purpose. But I must own I would rather not, for it is the grand wish and object of my life to get rid of them as far as possible, seeing they have already had more than their share of my nervous energy” (*GE Letters* II 46).

Thursday, July 22: the writing of this letter

Spencer was gone from Broadstairs by July 14, having made clear that he could not feel any deeply emotional involvement with GE. Concerned that he had distressed her somehow, he wrote her and “intimated”—as she writes, perhaps acerbically—that he still wanted her friendship “for its own sake.” She responded by declaring to Bray on July 21 her wish that she might be rid of all emotions, and she also replied directly to Spencer with a biting first sentence, then promising “such companionship as there is in me, untroubled by painful emotions.”

Thursday, July 29 also constitutes a possible date for this letter. On that date GE wrote to Charles Bray, “You must not expect to find me very flourishing physically,” suggesting the effect of having “been ill for the last three days” (*GE Letters* II 50; the letter is endorsed “July 29.53,” but the last figure must be an error). GE expected Mr and Mrs Bray for an often discussed visit finally set to start on Tuesday, Aug 3. She did not, on July 29, know how long they would stay; Mr Bray left Aug 5, Mrs Bray, on Aug 12 (*GE Letters* II 50 n. 8).

A visit so that Spencer might “see the golden corn before it is reaped” points to the middle or latter part of August. By September GE had to be back in London. In a sentence heavy with disciplinary resolve, and also with a sense of autumnal fatality, she wrote: “Whenever you like to come to me again, to see the golden corn before it is reaped, I can promise you such companionship as there is in me, untroubled by painful emotions.”

I prefer to see GE writing the third letter on July 22, and then giving way to the great outburst of the fourth letter in her loneliness before the arrival of the Brays

unhappy. The fact is, all sorrows sink into insignificance before the one great sorrow—my own miserable imperfections, and any outward hope is welcome if it will only serve to rouse my energies and make me less unworthy of my better self. I have good hope that it will be so now, and I wish you to share this hope if it will give you any satisfaction.

If, as you intimated in your last letter, you feel that my friendship is of value to you for its own sake—mind on no other ground—it is yours. Let us, if you wish, forget the past, except in so far as it may have brought us to trust in and feel for each other, and let us help to make life beautiful to each other as far as fate and the world will permit us. Whenever you like to come to me again, to see the golden corn before it is reaped, I can promise you such companionship as there is in me, untroubled by painful emotions. I meant to write you a long letter and tell you a great deal about my thought and feelings since we parted—but I have been ill for the last three days and everything is an effort to me.

Ever yours faithfully  
 MARIAN EVANS

## 4

[no date, heading, salutation, signature]<sup>22</sup>

I know this letter will make you very angry with me, but wait a little, and don't say anything to me while you are angry. I promise not to sin any more in the same way.

My ill health is caused by the hopeless wretchedness which weighs upon me. I do not say this to pain you, but because it is the simple truth which you must know in order to understand why I am obliged to seek relief. I want to know if you can assure me that you will not forsake me, that you will always be with me as much as you can and share your thoughts and feelings with me. If you become attached to some one else, then I *must* die, but until then I could gather courage to work

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("I am grateful for all feeling and all attention you can give me," she wrote them on July 21 [*GE Letters* II 47]). Certainly during the visit of the Brays she had found herself unable to keep to the resolution of her tie to Spencer which she set forth in the third letter. On Aug 19 she wrote to Mrs Bray: "Are you really the better for having been here? Since you left I have been continually regretting that I could not make your visit pleasanter. I was irritable and out of sorts. But you have an apparatus for secreting happiness—that's it" (*GE Letters* II 51).

"Strongly as my judgment prompted, my instincts would not respond," Spencer wrote to Youmans "It was a most painful affair, continuing thru the summer of 52. . . ."

22. The restraint and resignation of the third letter have crumbled. Spencer must have replied to it by expressing concern at the report of illness with which GE

closed that letter. At the start of the long paragraph in this fourth letter she picks up—and shreds—whatever he had said.

The fourth letter betrays no sign that a second visit from Spencer was imminent, and so appears to have been written toward the end of July or in the very first days of August. Mrs Bray left on Aug 12; by Monday, Aug 16, Spencer was very probably at Broadstairs (*GE Letters* II 51 and n. 10).

Much later Spencer acknowledged to Youmans, "I passed the most miserable time that has occurred in my experience; for, hopeless as the relation was, she would not agree that we should cease to see one another." In a further attempt to escape the destiny which he was cursing, Spencer recalled that he had "hinted at the possibility of marriage." If she could not live without him, perhaps she could, somehow, in some way, live with him.

and make life valuable—if only I had you near me. I do not ask you to sacrifice anything—I would be very good and cheerful and never annoy you. But I find it impossible to contemplate life under any other conditions. If I had your assurance, I could trust that and live upon it and have struggles—indeed I have—to renounce everything and be entirely unselfish, but I find myself utterly unequal to it. Those who have known me best have always said, that if ever I loved any one thoroughly my whole life would turn upon that feeling, and I find they said truly. You curse the destiny which has made the feeling concentrate itself on you—but if you will only have patience with me you shall not curse it long. You will find that I can be satisfied with very little, if I am delivered from the dread of losing it.

I suppose no woman ever before wrote such a letter as this—but I am not ashamed of it, for I am conscious that in the light of reason and true refinement I am worthy of your respect and tenderness, whatever gross[?] men or vulgar-minded women might think of me

## 5

Holly Lodge, South Field  
Wandsworth  
October 2. 59<sup>23</sup>

Dear Friend

Your words about “Adam Bede” are very precious, and they came opportunely, for I have been

23 After GE went to live with Lewes, Spencer maintained a cordial relation to her as well as to Lewes, who liked Spencer and gratefully acknowledged the saving stimulus of Spencer’s intellect at a time of dismay and despair in his own life (GE 271–72). Toward the close of the 1850s, however, these ties underwent severe strain. About eleven months before the writing of this fifth unpublished letter, when *Adam Bede* had proved a success, Spencer had let slip the secret of GE’s pseudonym (GE *Letters* II 494 n. 7, 505 n. 3; III 49 and n. 6, 103, 111; IV 26; A II 44–45, A[L] II 38–39, where Spencer telescoped the mutual disclosure and its subsequent reverberations, giving the appearance that his act had taken place in the spring of 1859, when knowledge of GE’s authorship was spreading—GE revealed her role to her closest old friends, the Brays, and probably to Miss Hennell, on June 20 1859 (GE *Letters* III 90 n. 4)). Spencer increased the resulting annoyance by showing toward GE and Lewes during 1859 a changed attitude which they took to express his jealousy of their prosperity: he had been searching fruitlessly for a government post which would allow him to carry out his project of a grand philosophic work in many volumes (GE 292; GE *Letters* III 97, 199–200 and n. 8).

GE declared to Charles Bray on Sept 18 1859, that

she and Lewes had been “wounded” by Spencer’s new stance. “There has been a little explanatory correspondence between him and Mr Lewes, and I am anxious that the subject should now be left alone. He is unconscious of the change, and it is folly to people who differ widely in their susceptibilities to raise questions concerning mutual feeling” (GE *Letters* III 154 and n. 6: according to Lewes’s journal, Lewes wrote Spencer on Sept 3 and received a reply Sept 16; both letters are missing).

At the end of September Spencer did write to GE about *Adam Bede* in what she characterized to Barbara Bodichon as “an *enthusiastic* letter.” Only a quotation in an auction catalogue preserves some of his actual words: “I have read it with laughter and tears and without criticism. Knowing as you do how constitutionally I am given to fault finding, you will know what this means.” He also discussed “the moral effect, I feel greatly the better for having read it [. . .].” GE continued to Mme Bodichon: “Forgive him his trespasses! He says he has not changed toward us, and what a man is not conscious of he must not answer for” (GE *Letters* III 169–70 and n. 5; see also III 192). Then she wrote to Spencer the last of these previously unpublished letters.

much worried of late. To have written a book that can move people as they say they are moved by "Adam Bede" *ought* to be happiness enough for me—ought to make me strong against minor personal griefs. But I do have a new proof of the predominance of an egoistic sensitiveness in me, in the power these minor griefs retain over me.

Yet I *did* feel very happy this morning, in spite of previous depression, when I came to that part of your letter where you say you felt the better for reading my book. It will always be one of the things I shall think of when I want to gather courage.

I have often accounted to myself for the change I imagined in your manner towards me by the supposition that I had made myself disagreeable in some way. I should not have trusted my own inferences, because I know I am rather morbid in such matters; but George, who is not apt to err in the same way, had a similar impression, and long ago, at Richmond, we used to try and recall some possible offence on my part.

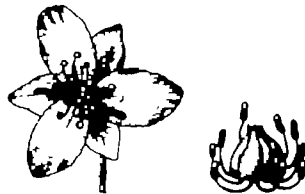
Never mind: it is enough that you are not conscious of any change in feeling.

Ever yours sincerely

MARIAN EVANS LEWES

Herbert Spencer Esq

RICHARD L. SCHOENWALD  
*Carnegie-Mellon University*



The New York Public Library  
*Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations*

RECENT EXHIBITIONS

The Central Building  
Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street

NEW YORK CITY TRANSPORTATION (FERRIES): Rare books, government documents, charts, and illustrations from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and current monographs, from the holdings of the Science and Technology Research Center, describing the many ferries of the area, especially the famous Staten Island Ferry; mid-December 1975 through February 28 1976.

FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

MAPS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION—THE SECOND YEAR, 1776—THE NEW YORK ARENA: A Bicentennial exhibition of original maps: a plan of the Battle of Fort Washington, published in Nuremberg, in 1777; a map of the "Engagement on the White Plains," published in New York in 1796; a plan of "New York Island," showing the "position of the American and British armies before, at, and after the engagement on the [Brooklyn] Heights," published in New York in 1776; and a plan of the city of New York, by David Grim, within the palisades erected in 1745 to show the "progress and extent of the great fire of 1776," published in 1866; January 6 through May 10 1976.

FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

50: THE GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY OF THE SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE: A major exhibition celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of this unique research facility. Some of the treasures on display are French translations (1900 and 1913) of two fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Arabic manuscripts from Timbuktu, "Tarikh es-Soudan" and "Tarikh el-Fettach"; the earliest printed book written by a black man, Juan Latino's *Ad Catholicum* (Granada 1573); and a bust of Ira Aldridge in the role of Othello, sculpted by Pietro Calvi; and other books, manuscripts, photographs, art works, and African artifacts; November 17 1975 through February 15 1976.

MAIN LOBBY AND SECOND FLOOR GALLERY

THE AMERICAN IDEA: DISCOVERY—REVOLUTION—INDEPENDENCE: The Library's major Bicentennial exhibition. On view are many of the most important American documents in the holdings of The Research Libraries, including: the "Olive Branch" manuscript, in which members of the Continental Congress petitioned George III, in 1775, for a peaceful settlement of differences; Jefferson's draft of the Declaration of Independence; the engrossed copy of the Bill of Rights, the handwritten copy sent to the states for their ratification; and many other manuscripts, illustrative materials, and printed books; March through July 9 1976.

MAIN LOBBY AND SECOND FLOOR GALLERY

**AMERICAN PAINTING:** Original portraits owned by the Library, including Duplessis' pastel of Benjamin Franklin (1783), a full-length portrait of Washington (ca. 1800), by Gilbert Stuart, and Samuel F. B. Morse's portrait of the Marquis de Lafayette, painted from sittings in 1825; March through July 9 1976.

SECOND FLOOR GALLERY

**TENNO: THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN:** Marking the occasion of the visit to New York, for the first time in history, of the Emperor and Empress of Japan, the exhibition includes books with colorful illustrations of the Emperor's ancestry, youth, and coronation; formal and informal pictures from his public and private lives; recently donated books that have been published for this occasion; and unusual items such as a book with an imperial menu, and a work on the grammar of the special form of the Japanese language that is used in addressing the Emperor and his family; September 22 1975 through January 17 1976.

SECOND FLOOR CENTRAL CORRIDOR

**CAMELS:** An exhibition tracing the earliest domestication of the camel, its place in Bedouin life, its status in Arabic poetry, scripture, and proverbs, its religious value, its depiction in Western art, and even the U.S. Army's attempt to use the camel in the American southwest, in materials drawn from all over the Library, but especially the Oriental Division; January 19 through March 30 1976.

SECOND FLOOR GALLERY

**NEW YORK: PORTAL TO AMERICA:** The immigrant experience in New York City from 1890 to the 1950s is illustrated in materials from the Manuscripts and Archives Division, including photographs and letters; January 15 through June 1976.

SECOND FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

**BRIDGES: AN EXHIBITION OF PRINTS:** Bridges in many moods and settings, in prints from the sixteenth century to the present, by artists including Hirschvogel, Lautensack, Callot, Hollar, Gordon Craig, and John Marin, as well as several Japanese artists; December 1 1975 through February 1976.

THIRD FLOOR PRINT GALLERY

**PRINTMAKING IN AMERICA:** A selection of important works from the holdings of the Prints Division, to show the development of American printmaking during the past two hundred years. Artists include Paul Revere, Amos Doolittle, Asher B. Durand, J. Alden Weir, John Twachtman, James A. McN. Whistler, Mary Cassatt, John Sloan, Reginald Marsh, and Robert Motherwell; March 1 through June 15 1976.

THIRD FLOOR PRINT GALLERY

**VIEWS OF NIAGARA FALLS:** Engravings and lithographs by European and American artists from the seventeenth century to the 1880s, depicting Niagara Falls from the American and the Canadian sides, in summer and winter; through March 1976.

STOKES GALLERY, THIRD FLOOR

**"TEIKAN NO ZOO":** A seventeenth-century illustrated Japanese manuscript, in twelve volumes, with painted covers, from the Spencer Collection; January through March 1976.

THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

**INDEPENDENCE: 1770-1850:** A literary panorama to celebrate the Bicentennial illustrated by first editions, manuscripts, and portraits of those writers who labored for an independent American language and literature; November 17 1975 through September 17 1976.\*

ROOM 318 (BERG COLLECTION)

\* Catalogue available (\$7.50).



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AMSTERDAM GALLERY

FREDERICK FEHL: PHOTOGRAPHER OF THE PERFORMING ARTS: Black-and-white photographs capturing the artistry and drama of the performing arts in a variety of media, the majority of them in ballet, including the New York City Ballet and the Ballets Russes, as well as in opera and theatre, and portraits of musicians and composers; March 4 through May 29 1976.

AMSTERDAM GALLERY

NIJINSKY DANCING: An exhibition depicting the great Russian dancer's many personal triumphs with Diaghilev's Ballets Russes; some sculptures, paintings, and prints by artists including Chagall, Bakst, Rodin, and Kolbe; and many photographs from the Dance Collection given by the late choreographer and dancer Roger Pryor Dodge; October 28 1975 through January 3 1976.

PLAZA GALLERY

50 YEARS OF DESIGN: THE YALE SCHOOL OF DRAMA / THE SCHOOL OF OENSLAGER: A fiftieth anniversary exhibition celebrates the career of the late Donald Oenslager, the noted theatrical designer and teacher. Renderings of sets and costumes for some of Oenslager's produc-

tions, including *The Fabulous Invalid* and the opera *Orfeo*, and models, including one for *The Skin of Our Teeth*, are on view. A second part of the exhibition encompasses those designers, from the 1920s to the present, whom Oenslager has taught or influenced—David Hays, Peter Wexler, Peggy Clark, Santo Loquasto, and many others. Student projects as well as professional work done after leaving the Yale School of Drama are shown; January 19 through March 26 1976.

MAIN GALLERY

**DREAMS IN THE THEATRE: DESIGNS OF SIMON LISSIM:** Stage and costume designs, together with gouaches inspired by the theatre, from 1920 to the present year, done by the Russo-American artist. The main part of Simon Lissim's career was centered in Paris from 1923 to 1932, with additional productions in New York in the 1940s. *The Legend of Tsar Saltan*, *Hamlet*, *L'Aiglon*, *The Love for Three Oranges*, *Queen of Spades*, *Turandot*, and *Merchant of Venice* are represented along with Harlequin, circus clowns, and kings, sultans, princes, and other royalty. The exhibition is drawn from the collections of the Performing Arts Research Center, private collectors, museums, and the artist; October 24 1975 through January 31 1976.\*

VINCENT ASTOR GALLERY

**RUTH PAGE: "BALLET IS A WORLD APART":** An exhibition honoring the distinguished American dancer, choreographer, and animateur of the art of dancing, with items from her papers in the Dance Collection, including letters, notebooks, photographs, scrapbooks, posters, programs, and original stage and set designs. The materials relate to her association and collaboration with artists including George Balanchine, Lincoln Kirstein, Margot Fonteyn, Rudolf Nureyev, Erik Bruhn, Isamu Noguchi, Antoni Clavé, Eugene Berman, Darius Milhaud, Jacques Ibert, André Delfau, Georges Wakhevitch, Leonor Fini, Alexander Calder, and Blanche Yurka; February 19 through May 7 1976.

VINCENT ASTOR GALLERY

**WOMEN BEHIND THE SCENES:** A small exhibition highlighting the contributions of women to the theatre—as actresses, playwrights, producers, directors, and designers—with photographs, programmes, scripts, original designs, and other memorabilia from the Theatre Collection; through January 10 1976.

THEATRE COLLECTION, READING ROOM

**A PERFORMING ARTS SALUTE TO THE BICENTENNIAL:** The founding of the United States as depicted in stage, screen, and television productions, including a display of photographs of historical personages as portrayed by actors, and programs, scripts, and other memorabilia; mid-January through April 1976.

THEATRE COLLECTION, READING ROOM

**THE CORNELL-McCLINTIC ROOM:** Original drawings by Al Frueh, caricaturist for the *New Yorker*, of Cornell and McClintic productions; window cards; portraits, photographs of Guthrie McClintic and Katharine Cornell, and scenes from their shows; permanent exhibition.

THEATRE COLLECTION

**COPLAND FOR THE THEATRE:** An exhibition honoring Aaron Copland, the eminent New York-born composer, on his seventy-fifth birthday, and focusing on his work for the various branches of the theatrical world—his ballet, opera, and film scores, incidental music for plays, and music for radio and television. Several of the composer's original manuscripts are on view, including

\* Catalogue available (\$5.00).

the pencil score of the early, unproduced ballet *Grogh*, composed in Paris from 1922 to 1925. Documents, photographs, letters, and programs are also on display; November 14 1975 through June 30 1976. MUSIC DIVISION

ISADORA DUNCAN: An Isadora Duncan costume and other memorabilia from the Irma Duncan Collection; on permanent view. DANCE COLLECTION

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A Bicentennial Exhibition of nineteenth- and twentieth-century dolls dressed in American costumes from the National Doll and Toy Collectors' Club; January 19 through March 20 1976.

CENTRAL CHILDREN'S ROOM

### COUNTEE CULLEN REGIONAL BRANCH

104 West 136th Street

Photographs by Harlem cameraman Lloyd Yearwood; November 12 1975 through January 31 1976.

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10 Seventh Avenue South

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# Bulletin

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SUMMER 1976

John F. Fleming  
New York



# BULLETIN OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

VOLUME 79 · SUMMER 1976 · NUMBER 4

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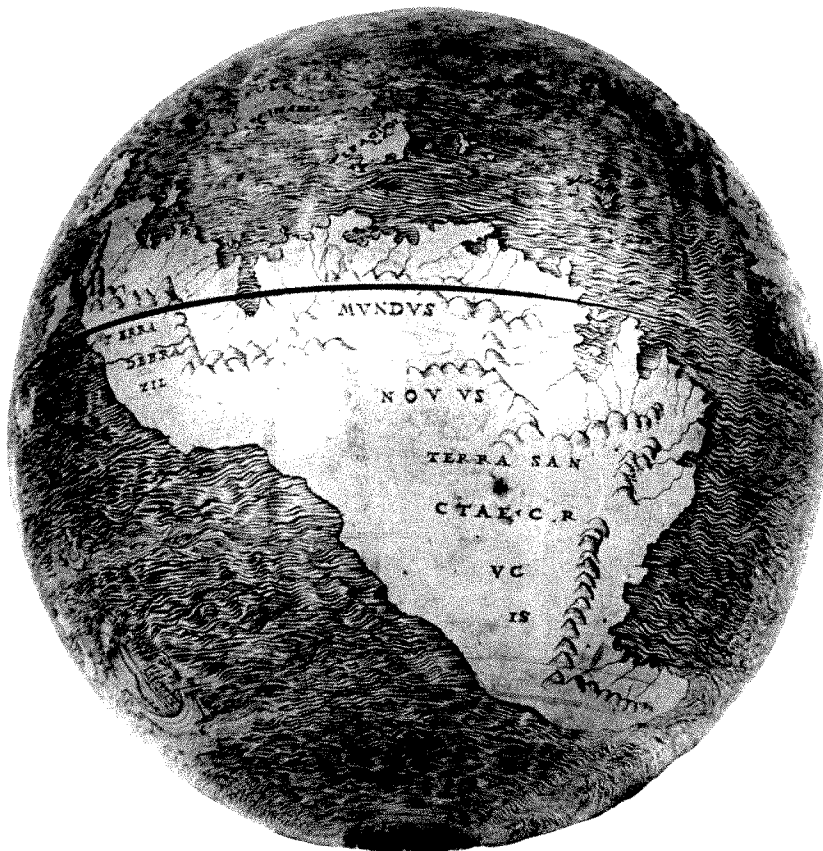
The Central Building; The New York Public Library at Lincoln Center;  
Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture; Donnell Library Center;  
Countee Cullen Regional Branch; Hudson Park Branch

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ON THE COVER: Ernest Haskell's caricature-portrait of Charles H. Parkhurst, pen and ink drawing, 1900, for the *New York Journal*. Charles Henry Parkhurst (1842-1933), minister of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, was famous for his sermons and campaigns against the alleged alliances between New York City political leaders and the city's purveyors of vice and crime. The drawing, the gift of Mrs Josephine Haskell Aldridge to the

Prints Division in memory of Ernest Haskell, Jr, is currently on exhibition in the Third Floor Print Gallery. Six additional works by Haskell and a portrait-photograph of him by Dorothea Lange accompany Robert Rainwater's account of Haskell's life and career (beginning on page 435 below) and a check list of Haskell's works in the Prints Division.

*Bulletin of The New York Public Library* is published quarterly by The New York Public Library. *Editor*, David V. Erdman; *Managing Editor*, William L. Coakley; *Assistant Editor*, Marilan Lund; *Editorial Secretary*, Dorothy Petersen. *Promotion*, Rowe Portis. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. Subscriptions \$12.00 for volume 79, single numbers \$3.50 each. Address subscriptions and related correspondence to Readex Books (A Division of Readex Microprint Corporation), 101 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10003; and editorial, advertising, and all other inquiries to Editor's Office, Room 58, The New York Public Library, Fifth Avenue & 42nd St, New York, NY 10018. Volume 79, number 4 copyright © 1976, The New York Public Library. ISSN 0028-7466. [v-13-76 22c]



The Hunt-Lenox Globe, showing the American portion (1510?, engraved on copper by an unknown artist)—the earliest existing globe from the period immediately following the discovery of the New World—*Rare Book Division*. It is one of the treasures illustrated in the catalogue *The American Idea* of the Library's major Bicentennial exhibition (see Recent Exhibitions below, page 488). The catalogue is available from the Library's Sales Shops (\$2.00).

## FRONT MATTER

### *ALA Publishes NYPL Research Guide*

The American Library Association in Chicago has just published the *Guide to the Research Collections of The New York Public Library* compiled by Sam P. Williams, The Research Libraries' Assistant for Resources. The 368-page clothbound volume is a complete revision in essay format of Karl Brown's *A Guide to the Reference Collections of The New York Public Library*, issued by the Library in 1941 and long out of print. The new *Guide* was compiled under the direction of Professor William Vernon Jackson of the School of Library Service of the George Peabody School for Teachers (Nashville) and of James Wood Henderson, Mellon Director of The Research Libraries of The New York Public Library, with the editorial assistance of the Library's Editor's Office. Many members of the Library's staff contributed to the making of this guide to its resources. Its preparation and publication were supported by grants from the Old Dominion and Andrew W. Mellon Foundations and from the Library's Emily E. F. Skeel Fund.

At a time when it is increasingly important to document the Library's position as a significant national resource, the volume provides broad insights into the nature and depths of our holdings. It covers the great collections of rare works, manuscripts and archives, and current research material in the humanities, social sciences, and pure and applied sciences, including those holdings which one would

expect to find only in the largest museum, business, or scientific research library. And there is description of materials on all aspects of the performing arts, sports, patents, ephemeral broadsides and pamphlets, and the like that academic and public libraries almost never have acquired in such range.

The new *Guide* describes the Library's resources through 1969, though administrative changes made since then have been incorporated into the text where practicable. Supplement publication plans will be announced in a later issue of this *Bulletin*. Arranged by subject areas, the new volume gathers together in each chapter descriptions of significant resources in the various units holding material on a subject; of the research guides to the Library's own holdings, such as catalogs, files, and indexes; and of special gift collections and unique or rare materials. Relative strengths and historical and current collecting policies are discussed where pertinent. Major new holdings acquired since 1941 receive particular emphasis. There are new subjects covered (aerospace, videotapes, etc.); and divisions formed, developed, or added since that time (the Arents Collections, the Dance Collection, and the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture) have been described in depth for the first time.

Copies are available at \$35 from the American Library Association, 50 East Huron Street, Chicago, Illinois 60611; they may also be purchased in the Library's Sales Shops in the Central Building and at Lincoln Center.

ALICE P. KENNEY

## Herman Melville and the Dutch Tradition

ALTHOUGH IT IS WELL KNOWN that Herman Melville's family background was as much Hudson Valley Dutch as Yankee, the possibility of Dutch influence upon his works has received astonishingly little attention. One reason is certainly that Melville referred to Dutch culture only rarely, and then most explicitly in poems not published until his works were rediscovered in the 1920s. Another is that the Dutch language, which has all but died out in the United States and is not widely spoken in Europe, has not produced an internationally familiar literature, as have English, French, and German. Still another is that very little has been known about Dutch culture in the Hudson Valley between the conquest of New Netherland and Melville's time. Only recently have scholars emphasized that the descendants of the Dutch settlers were a coherent ethnic group who continued to speak a dialect brought from the seventeenth-century Netherlands until after the American Revolution, and perpetuated distinctive Dutch traditions of commercial activity, family organization, architecture, agricultural methods, religion, and value structure which are still visible among them today. Nor has it been widely recognized that, since the culture of the Netherlands was in many respects multilingual, heterogeneous, and cosmopolitan, the maintenance of some of these traditions side by side with rapid adjustment to English and American ways of life exemplified the normal Dutch mode of adapting to new circumstances.

For most Americans the Hudson Valley Dutch tradition begins and ends with the history of New Netherland, which still derives its structure from the myth created by Washington Irving, although that myth has repeatedly been demonstrated to contain more fiction than fact. Two recently published histories of the Dutch in America attempt to redress this balance, showing how the ways of life of New Netherland were derived from the long, complex, and highly diverse tradition of the Netherlands. The literature of this short-lived colony was introduced to English readers by Ellis M. Raesly, who showed that most of its authors were sea captains, officials, or divines who returned to the Netherlands after a few years in the New World, or after the English conquest. Their works, published in the Netherlands for educated Dutch readers, represented the important Dutch genres of the traveler's tale of

experiences in strange lands, the controversial political pamphlet, and the poetic forms which had been developed in the civic rhetorical competitions traditional in Netherlands cities. These writings were not widely read by the Hudson Valley Dutch settlers, whose functional literacy was, as a rule, confined to reading the Bible and keeping the complicated accounts of a barter economy; the robust lives of such colonists as Melville's immigrant ancestor Harmen Harmense van Gansevoort are revealed in colorful detail by local court records.<sup>1</sup>

After the English conquest, descendants of the Dutch colonists who decided to stay in the Hudson Valley developed several subcultures which adopted the English language and ways of life in varying degrees. "Patroon" families, Dutch landowners, and "patricians," wealthy merchant families in New York and Albany who like the Gansevoorts established mercantile dynasties, had many political, commercial, and social contacts with the English ruling class, often intermarried with it, and rapidly learned the English language. Nevertheless many of them, especially in Albany, continued to speak Dutch in their homes, to worship in it in the Dutch Reformed Church, and to practice Dutch customs in a deliberate effort to retain their ethnic identity. Melville's grandparents, General Peter Gansevoort and his wife, thus maintained Dutch traditions throughout their lives. Dutch farmers, or "boers," in the upper Hudson Valley and New Jersey clung even more stubbornly to their archaic Low Dutch dialect, their agricultural practices, their traditions of constructing houses and barns, and their Dutch Reformed faith; these persisted well into the nineteenth century and, in isolated areas, even the twentieth. Even when these descendants of Dutch settlers learned to speak English, their understanding of language and its use retained many Dutch characteristics; as T. S. Eliot has observed of another ethnic group:

A people (like the English-speaking Irish) which has lost its language may preserve enough of the structure, idiom, intonation and rhythm of its original tongue (vocabulary is of minor importance) for its speech and writing to have qualities not elsewhere found in the language of its adoption.<sup>2</sup>

This phenomenon is clearly to be observed in the Gansevoort family letters; I have described it in detail in "Evidences of Regard": Three Generations of American Love Letters" (BNYPL 76 [1972] 92-119), with particular reference to the letters of General Peter Ganse-

1. Gerald F. De Jong *The Dutch in America, 1609-1974* (Boston: Twayne 1975); Alice P. Kenney *Stubborn for Liberty: The Dutch in New York* (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ Press 1975); Ellis M. Racsly *Portrait of New Netherland* (NY: Columbia Univ Press 1946); and

Alice P. Kenney *The Gansevoorts of Albany* (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ Press 1969) chapter 1.

2. T. S. Eliot *Christianity and Culture* (NY: Harcourt 1949) 127.

voort and his wife Catherine Van Schaick Gansevoort and Allan and Maria Melville. It is therefore necessary here only to summarize briefly the increasing familiarity with the English language of successive generations of the Gansevoort family. There is no indication that Harmen Harmense van Gansevoort (ca. 1635–1710) had much reason to learn English, but his son Leendert (1683–1763) must have been able to read it, understand it, and speak it after a fashion to perform his duties on the Albany Common Council, and Leendert's son Harme (1712–1801) corresponded in English with his London factor and served as the city's first Clerk of Dutch descent. Harme's children, General Peter Gansevoort (1749–1812) and his brother and sisters learned English as their primary written language, although in 1769 sixteen-year-old Anna, who probably had little occasion to write letters, complained to her brother Leonard, "I hope wen You right to me again you will right as I do haf dutch and haf Engleis. I don't no the meaning of haf the words. I have no time to right you any more."<sup>3</sup> Anna's perplexity was probably increased by the elaborate prose style Leonard was absorbing while studying law; in his writing, the studied formality of English legal texts took on the ornate flourishes characteristic of the rhetorical conventions of civic literary competitions in the Netherlands. This example is from a business letter written only three years after Anna's complaint:

the Intent therefore of Writing to you at this Juncture is to request a Favour of you (which I shall always Esteem and Honor to Retalitate with Gratitude for as the Branches of a Tree return their Sap to the Root from whence it came as the Rivers empty themselves into the Sea from whence his Spring was supplied so the Heart of a grateful Man Delights in Returning Benefits Received.) The Favour therefore that I would ask of you is to inquire of the Price of the House and solicit in my behalf to mitigate the exorbitance of it. . . .<sup>4</sup>

General Peter Gansevoort and his wife used much simpler English in their letters to each other; it was always fluent and correct, but especially during their courtship it was obviously a language they had learned from books and in which they communicated with considerable formality. Although the General used English as his language of command in the Revolution and the Albany Dutch Reformed Church abandoned Dutch services after 1790, they continued to speak Dutch in their home throughout their lives. In 1818, after Allan and Maria

3 Anna Gansevoort to Leonard Gansevoort, Albany, Sept 2, 1769, collection of Peter G. D. Ten Eyck, Altamont, NY. The Gansevoort bilinguality is more fully discussed in Alice P. Kenney "Evidences of Regard": Three Generations of American Love Letters"

BNYPL 76 (1972) 92–119.

4 Leonard Gansevoort to Major Jellis Fonda, Dec 1, 1770, "Gansevoort" folder, Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, NY.

Melville had been living with her widowed mother for a year and a half, he wrote, "my mother-in-law being most enthusiastically attached to the *fatherland* speaks dutch in preference to english. . . ." <sup>5</sup> It seems probable that Caty would have shared the sentiments of one of her neighbors, who wrote, "I am not able to inform you all the particulars of her death. If it please the Lord that I may see you again I hope to tell you in my own language, but when shall that be?" <sup>6</sup>

Thus it is clear that the Hudson Valley Dutch language, like "Pennsylvania Dutch" in more recent times, was a spoken dialect among people whose normal written language was English, which adds a new dimension to the question of whether Herman Melville was familiar with it. It seems self-evident that Maria Melville spoke Dutch for domestic purposes until her removal to Boston with her husband in 1817, a conclusion supported by her brother's criticism of some of her girlhood letters for adopting too many expressions from sentimental fiction. After her marriage she certainly spoke English to her husband and probably her children, a change eventually reflected in the increasingly easy style of her later letters; but she was, significantly, learning to think on intimate subjects in her second language in the very years when her elder children were learning to talk. Furthermore, her mother spent much time with her in New York, and Maria and the children made extended visits to Albany and, in 1830, after their financial disaster, returned to live in Caty's home for the few months until her death. It is hard to believe that Maria and her mother ever abandoned their habit of discussing household matters in Dutch, and almost as improbable that the big ears of little pitchers would not have picked up some understanding of their grandmother's tongue, even if they did not make much effort to speak it. Positive evidence that Maria's generation participated in this oral tradition was provided half a century later by Maria's brother, Peter Gansevoort, then aged eighty-seven and his speech impaired by several strokes, when he contributed to a student of the dialect several vivid expressions, including the one indication anywhere in the Gansevoort records that they were familiar with Dutch superstitions. Circumstantial evidence therefore strongly suggests that Melville was not unfamiliar with the Hudson Valley Dutch dialect, although no direct mention of it has been found in his works and almost none in the Gansevoort family papers. It is certain that his mother and all her

5 Allan Melville to Robert Melvil at Amsterdam, Netherlands, July 1818: Melville Family Letters, Gansevoort-Lansing Collection (hereafter cited as GLC) in the Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library. Quotations from letters in GLC are

printed with the permission of the Library.

6 Elizabeth Wendell Bleecker to Harmanus Bleecker, Albany, May 25 1812, in Harriet L. P. Rice *Harmanus Bleecker: An Albany Dutchman* (Albany: William Boyd 1924) 25.

family spoke English as a deliberately acquired medium of communication rather than as their mother tongue, which may have had something to do with the difficulty several of them, including Maria, encountered in writing letters at all. It may also have contributed to their omission from their correspondence of many expressions of intimate feeling and to the often awkward and literary artificiality of those that Peter Gansevoort, in particular, included—a hiatus which would seem to be of the greatest importance in understanding Melville's apparent avoidance of some aspects of emotion and his reliance on literary conventions of sentimentality for expressing others.<sup>7</sup>

Evidence of Dutch influence on Melville's works must therefore be sought in areas other than direct influence of the Dutch language. One possibility is his creative use of the traditional Dutch oral and written genre of the traveler's tale. It is significant that numerous Gansevoorts, beginning with Melville's grandfather, kept meticulous records of their journeys—although General Gansevoort's travel journals contained only laconic jottings of distances covered and stopping-points. His son Peter, on an expedition to northern New York in 1823 to expose the fraudulent collection of bounties for killing wolves, recorded in addition some vivid vignettes about the execrable roads he traveled and some colorful characters he met; thirty years later, when he toured in Europe, he wrote his wife and children long and detailed accounts of his sightseeing. The most monumental Gansevoort travel diarist was Peter's daughter Kate, who on her trip to Europe in 1859 and 1860 seemed bent on recording every point of interest and work of art she visited; but her brother Henry showed greater, though less sustained, literary powers in an 1867 journal-letter describing his journey from Albany to his army post at Pensacola, through Havana, New Orleans, and the devastated South. One of the Gansevoorts' favorite amusements, furthermore, was frequent convivial family gatherings, at which the experiences of returned travelers certainly formed a staple of entertainment. It is known that *Typee* originated in the tales told on such occasions, which helps to explain why it was always Peter Gansevoort's favorite among his nephew's works, and also elucidates the relationship between its accurate geographical and anthro-

7 Peter Gansevoort to Maria Gansevoort, Oct 1811, Gansevoort Family Letters (GLC). The information about Peter's interview with dialect collector Walter Hill, probably in 1875, was contributed by Van Cleef Bachman, whose dictionary of the Hudson Valley Dutch dialect is eagerly awaited and to whom, with Dr Lawrence G. Van Loon, I am indebted for all the information about that language in this paper, other than my own conclusions about the Gansevoorts' use of

it. There are a few published works on this dialect, including L. G. Van Loon *Crumbs from an Old Dutch Closet: The Dutch Dialect of New York* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff 1938), William Z. Spletter "A Final Word on Jersey Dutch" *American Speech* 33 (Dec 1958) 243-51; and William H. Carpenter "Dutch Contributions to the Vocabulary of English in America" *Modern Philology* 6 (July 1908) 53-68.



pological descriptions and its events heightened by a storyteller weaving his spell in response to the reactions of a visible audience; the interpolations from other books represent the expansion necessary to transform the brief tales recounted orally to personal friends into a full-length, connected written narrative for general readers.<sup>8</sup>

Direct evidence that Melville organized at least one of his works within the framework of Hudson Valley Dutch oral tradition may well be the striking similarity between the Yillah story in *Mardi* and one of the very few Dutch dialect folk tales that has been collected—collected, incidentally, in the Albany area. The tale, called “Joekie en de poelmeisie” (Joekie and the poolmaiden), concerns the son of Abraham and Betje Van der Heyden, who operate a sawmill by the Normanskill (a considerable stream which enters the Hudson between Albany and the city’s steamboat landing at Van Wie’s Point). Joekie, an only child more interested in the beauties of nature than in work, is finally on his sixteenth birthday compelled to begin work in the mill. One day, while searching for timber in the woods, he hears a singing voice and follows it to a pool, where he hears a splash but sees nothing, not even ripples on the water. Joekie wonders but, in the presence of beauty, is not afraid. When he tells his parents of his experience, they are much alarmed and warn him never to return to the pool because it is evil. A month later, however, he comes to the pool again while fishing, and as he recalls the previous incident, hears the singing again. A beautiful woman appears, weeping, and tells him that she has lost her pearls in the water. Joekie, seeing something white in the water and enchanted by the dreamlike beauty of the scene, wades into the pool to retrieve them, but slips and strikes his head on a rock. His father, searching for him, hears no song but does reach the pool and finds his body floating in it. Significant resemblances between this story and *Mardi* include not only the sequence of events and the association of the beautiful, terrible enchantress with pearls, but also the ambiguous character of Joekie, who from his parents’ angle of vision is an incipient shiftless Rip Van Winkle, but whose sensitive response to beauty is emphasized as the motivation—perhaps even the justification—for his yielding to temptation. The general theme of the poolmaiden or Lorelei is at least as ancient in Germanic folklore as *Beowulf* but the discovery of this tale surviving into the

8 The Gansevoort travel diaries, all in GLC, concern General Peter Gansevoort’s trips to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in Nov 1809 and to Frederick, Maryland, for the court-martial of General James Wilkinson in Aug–Dec 1811, Peter Gansevoort’s trips to Malone, New York, in 1823; Kate Gansevoort’s trip to Europe in 1859 and 1860; and Henry Gansevoort’s trip to Pensacola in Apr

1867, described in a journal-letter to Susan Lansing Gansevoort filed with her Correspondence. Travel materials in Allan Melville’s (1818) and Peter Gansevoort’s (1853) letters to their wives are discussed in Kenney “Evidences of Regard” (see footnote 3). Kate’s journal is the basis of Alice P. Kenney “Kate Gansevoort’s Grand Tour” *New York History* 47 (Oct 1966) 343–61.

twentieth century in the Dutch dialect so close to Melville's home suggests very strongly that he may have been familiar with it, and suggests further that if more were known of folklore in this dialect—mostly now, alas, dead with its speakers—more influences of it might be discerned in his works.<sup>9</sup>

Another level of Dutch tradition in *Mardi* is its compendium of miscellaneous allusions, gleaned from Melville's explorations in Evert Duyckinck's library and presented in the framework of the cosmopolitan literary conversations to which he was introduced in Duyckinck's salon. It is astonishing that the significance of the Dutch ancestry shared by Duyckinck and a number of his coterie, including Melville, Cornelius Mathews, and Walt Whitman, should have been completely overlooked by such an exhaustive study as Perry Miller's *The Raven and the Whale*. The eclecticism of Duyckinck's circle reflects the multilingual culture of merchants in the Netherlands who did business in the language of their customers and adorned their leisure with French literature and Italian music and painting, encouraging the Dutch artists they patronized to rework all three with distinctive Dutch emphases. For example, the medieval chronicler Froissart wrote the history of the French and English struggle for control of the Low Countries in the Hundred Years War in a style whose Netherlandish characteristics include its extravagant rhetoric, its hard, precise observation of grim details, and its celebration of chivalry as a code of manners. Melville shows similar characteristics in the following acknowledgement of his kinship with Froissart, describing an incident quite in keeping with Froissart's point of view, although it appears to have been a creation of Melville's imagination:

At the battle of Brevieux in Flanders, my glorious old gossiping ancestor, Froissart, informs me, that ten good knights, being suddenly unhorsed, fell stiff and powerless to the plain, fatally encumbered by their armor. . . . Now it was deemed very hard, that the mysterious state-prisoner of France should be riveted in an iron mask; but these knight-errants did voluntarily prison themselves in their own iron Bastilles; and thus helpless were murdered therein. Days of chivalry these, when gallant chevaliers died chivalric deaths!

9 "Joekie en de poelmeisne" was collected by Dr Lawrence G. Van Loon about 1930 from Mrs Dewitt Lynk of East Glenville, NY, and was called to my attention by Van Cleef Bachman, who has observed a similar story in Godfried Bomans *Sprookjesboek* (Amsterdam: Agon Elsevier 1965), and suggests the probable antiquity of the poolmaiden theme. The present state of knowledge concerning Hudson Valley Dutch folklore is indicated in Harold W. Thompson *Body, Boots*

and *Britches* (NY: Lippincott 1962) 118-21, 462-68, and Carl Carmer *The Hudson* (NY: Farrar & Rinehart 1939) chapters 4-5. "Principal Collections of Folk Tales," an extensive bibliography in Stith Thompson *The Folk Tale* (NY: [Dryden Press 1946] 1951) 467-71, does not even mention the Dutch, although it includes all of the major and most of the minor European national groups.

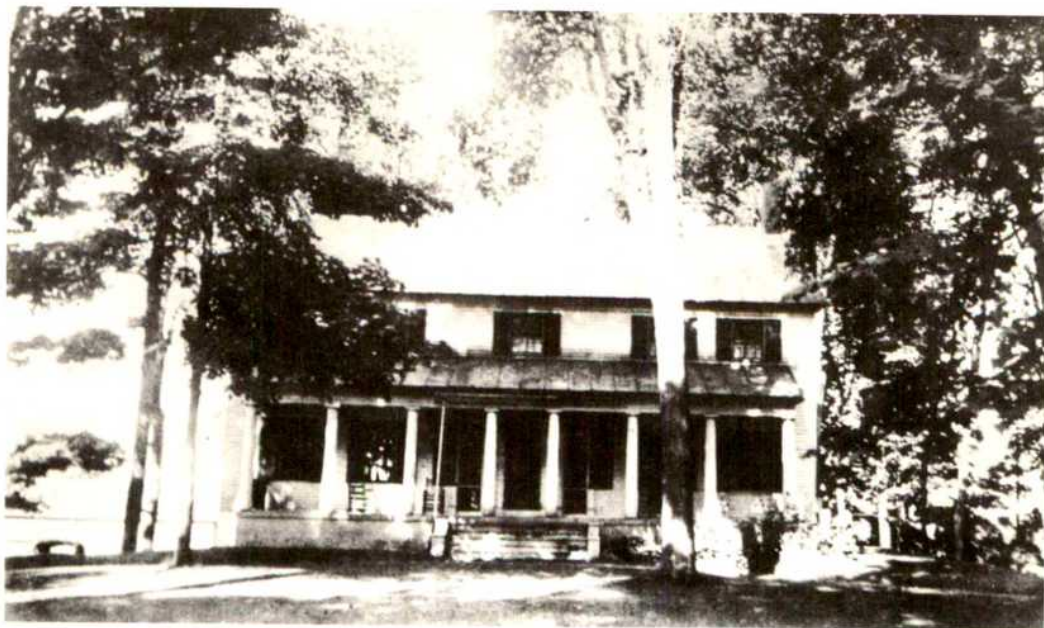
And this was the epic age, over whose departure my late eloquent and prophetic friend and correspondent, Edmund Burke, so movingly mourned. Yes, they were glorious times. But no sensible man, given to quiet domestic delights, would exchange his warm fireside and muffins, for a heroic bivouac, in a wild beechen wood, of a raw gusty morning in Normandy; every knight blowing his steel-gloved fingers, and vainly striving to cook his cold coffee in his helmet.<sup>10</sup>

Even more significant as reflections of this Dutch tradition are the points of view expressed by the principal characters of *Mardi* during their "Rabelaisian" orgies which are also convivial Dutch feasts. Mohi's "history" narrates oral tradition rather than documented facts, Babbalanja's "philosophy" sets forth traditional maxims of conduct rather than a rational system, Yoomy's "poetry" evokes traditional responses rather than individual reactions, and even Media's authority—the ruling power of conscience—rests upon traditional privilege rather than divine right. Taji, the narrator, who participates in these social controversies by his silent presence, represents individual genius becoming aware that their tradition is increasingly irrelevant to the search for Yillah—the pursuit of individual happiness enshrined by Americans as an inalienable right of mankind, whose immediate impact upon any traditional community is to transgress its most cherished taboos and whose ultimate effect is to destroy it. Thus recognition of the Dutch elements in *Mardi* shows it to be an even deeper and more ambiguous interpretation of the mainstream of American culture than has been realized. These elements, of course, are also important in English-speaking traditions, but in different proportions and with different emphasis; it seems likely that Melville's imperfect appreciation of these differences, supported unawares by the partially Dutch Duyckinck's sympathy with his angle of vision, contributed much to the unintelligibility of *Mardi* among readers familiar only with English literature. It would be worth investigating, incidentally, whether similar Dutch-descended qualities—particularly a tendency to extravagant rhetoric—might have contributed to the initial unintelligibility of the works of Mathews and Whitman.

*Mardi*, therefore, emerges as Melville's "Dutchiest" work, far more so than *Pierre*, which is Melville's attempt to write a Gothic romance in a Hudson Valley setting, like James Kirke

<sup>10</sup> *Mardi and a Voyage Thither* (London: Constable 1922) 90. Merton M. Sealts, Jr in *Melville's Reading* (Madison: Univ of Wisconsin 1966) makes no mention of Froissart or any other works by Dutch authors except Philip Pendleton Cooke's *Froissart Ballads*, which Melville purchased on Dec 2 1847 (item 158). Froissart's Netherlandish characteristics are described in Johan

Huizinga *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (Garden City: Doubleday 1956) 128–29, 244, 258, 264, 279–89. Melville's relationship to the Duyckinck coterie is discussed in Perry Miller *The Raven and the Whale* (NY: Harcourt 1956) 72–74, 80–81, 196–97, 228–29, 286–87, 302–03.



The Herman Gansevoort house at Gansevoort, Saratoga County, New York. The photostat in the Manuscripts and Archives Division was made from photographs belonging to Miss Elizabeth Patterson, of Gansevoort, New York, in 1937.

Paulding's *Dutchman's Fireside* and Charles Fenno Hoffman's *Greyslaer*. Since I discussed the Dutch elements in *Pierre* extensively in *The Gansevoorts of Albany*, it is necessary to repeat here only that the Glendenning family bears far less resemblance in social status to the patrician Gansevoorts than it does to lower Hudson Valley manor lords such as the Van Cortlandts, from whom the unusual name of *Pierre* may have been borrowed. (Another possible source of this name is a bit of Pittsfield folklore in which a French officer named Pierre Lanaudinière rescued a girl named Isabel Walton from being burned at the stake by Indians and eloped with her to Canada—a transformation of oral tradition very similar to that already suggested for *Mardi*.)<sup>11</sup>

The "estate" of Melville's uncle, Herman Gansevoort, at Gansevoort, New York, was in fact a substantial farm in a bustling frontier community centered upon the family's lumber mills, where his way of life was more like that of the Littlepages in Cooper's *Redskins* than that of the Glendennings. Melville depicted this homestead in a sketch, "The Happy Fail-

<sup>11</sup> The discussion of *Pierre*, and Dutch aspects of Melville's other works, particularly *Clarel*, is in Kenney *Gansevoorts*, chapter 9; see also Federal Writers'

Project *The Berkshire Hills* (NY: Funk & Wagnalls 1939) 73-74.

ure,” whose subject, “my uncle,” an old man broken by circumstance but serenely contemplating the evening of life, is indeed Herman Gansevoort, who lost his invested fortune in the New York City fire of 1835 and the Panic of 1837, his lands in 1846 by the judgment in an acrimonious family lawsuit over the settlement of his mother’s estate, and his beloved though sometimes difficult wife soon after the sketch was published in 1854. It was after the latter event that Maria Melville removed from Arrowhead to become the mistress of her brother’s home and to maintain the quiet summer sunset atmosphere in which Melville observed his uncle, and which Kate Gansevoort also experienced several years later when she visited her aunt and cousins.<sup>12</sup> Life at Gansevoort is probably also described in one of Melville’s poems, “A Dutch Christmas Up the Hudson in the Time of the Patroons,” which depicts not the elaborate festivities to be expected of Van Rensselaers or Van Cortlandts, but the homely celebration of a farm family who, while decking their rooms with greens and preparing good food, encourage the servants to make merry amid their labors and extend a share in the cheer to farm animals and their less fortunate neighbors. Extra measures of oats and hay for the livestock and wreathing the horns of the cattle with holly suggest the continued practice by Dutch farmers of widespread North European folkways, while Santa Claus’s gifts of a mince pie to “the one man in jail” and good things to the poor so proud that “pudding for an alms they would spurn from the door” recall the quiet, practical charities which made Melville’s sisters Augusta and Fanny beloved in Gansevoort. Most quintessentially Dutch of all is the last line of the poem, “Happy harvest of the conscience on many Christmas Days.”<sup>13</sup>

Melville also took a subject directly from Hudson Valley Dutch tradition, as it was understood in the nineteenth century, in “Rip Van Winkle’s Lilac,” a brief poem with a long prose preface which reveals a new dimension in the principal character of Irving’s story and Joseph Jefferson’s play. Melville’s Rip, like Joekie, is shiftless to the point of inexcusable negligence, but redeemed by his wonder and sensitivity in the presence of beautiful things. Melville describes his return after his sleep to his tumbledown house, depicting its collapse in unsparing detail as the result of his neglect of its need for repair and his long-suffering wife’s need for adequate shelter, and then shows him overwhelmed by the loveliness of the ruin overgrown with a huge pink lilac he had once thrust into the ground in the vague hope

12 Herman Gansevoort’s life and misfortunes are described in chapters 6, 8, and 10 of Kenney *Gansevoorts*. Herman Melville “The Happy Failure” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* 9 (July 1854) 196–99; Kate Gansevoort to Susan Lansing Gansevoort, Aug 17, 21 1867, Susan Lansing Gansevoort Correspondence

(GLC).

13 Herman Melville “A Dutch Christmas Up the Hudson in the Time of the Patroons” in Howard P. Vincent, ed *Collected Poems of Herman Melville* (Chicago: Hendricks 1947) 271–72; hereafter cited as CP.

it might in time help to appease his wife's ill temper. The point is emphasized by an interpolated incident in which an itinerant artist, painting the scene, is interrupted by an inquisitive Yankee who proposes the spanking new church on the hill as a more suitable subject. The artist, however, considers the aggressive aspiration of the church an excrescence on the face of nature and almost an offense to God, and—in another ambiguous gloss on Irving—likenes the Yankee to that “Death on the pale horse” which fired the colossal imagination of Benjamin West. Although the painter appears before Rip's return, he is clearly a member of the Hudson River School, rather than one of the colonial folk limners who painted portraits of Hudson Valley Dutchmen, one of the finest being the “Gansevoort limner,” who depicted Melville's great-grandparents Leendert and Catarina Gansevoort. The allusion to West's painting completes a telescoping of time which enhances the dreamlike quality of the sketch. In the concluding poem the painter is not mentioned, but the neighbors—who presumably built and attend the ugly church—discover the lilac and take slips from it to beautify their own yards:

Till, lo, that region now is dowered  
Like the first Paradise embowered,  
Thanks to the poor good-for-nothing Rip! . . .  
See, where man finds in man no use,  
Boon Nature finds one—Heaven be blest! (CP p 293)

Another theme from a Netherlands tradition depicted by Froissart found its way into Melville's imaginative interpretation of the Civil War. Cities in the cloth-making districts of fourteenth-century Flanders and adjacent northern France were often racked by violence between political factions and uprisings of the weavers whose lot was essentially that of a pre-industrial proletariat. An especially stark example occurred in Ghent in 1345, during which the patriotic Flemish leader Jacob van Artevelde was torn to pieces by the mob, an incident which had caught Melville's attention some time before he reflected in *Moby Dick* on “that passage in Froissart, when . . . the desperate White Hoods of Ghent murdered their bailiff in the market place.”<sup>14</sup> When riots broke out in New York City in July 1863 over enforcement of draft laws which bore more heavily on the poor than the rich, the fury of incensed Irish immigrants was turned particularly against Negroes, whom they resented as a cause of the war and also as competitors for unskilled employment. Melville explained his reaction to this approach of the war to his own door: “‘I dare not write of the horrible and inconceivable atrocities committed,’ says Froissart. . . . The like may be hinted of some

<sup>14</sup> Herman Melville *Moby Dick* (NY: Norton n.d.) 166.



Wood engraving, probably of the New York Draft Riots of July 11–13 1863 alluded to by Melville in “The House-Top”—*Emmet Collection, Prints Division*

proceedings of the draft rioters.”<sup>15</sup> His poem “The House-Top: A Night Piece,” however, plumbed far greater depths than mere visceral reactions of horror at street fighting and lynching. The fiery stars look down on a sweltering city given over to inflamed bestial urges, primeval natural forces consuming even the barbaric restraints of medieval superstition and tyranny:

The town is taken by its rats—ship-rats  
And rats of the wharves. All civil charms  
And priestly spells which late held hearts in awe—  
Fear-bound, subjected to a better sway

<sup>15</sup> Melville’s note to “The House-Top,” *CP* p 452. The disorders in medieval Flemish towns are described in Henri Pirenne *Early Democracies in the Low Countries* (NY: Harper 1963). Another aspect of Melville’s

response to the Civil War, which also has Dutch qualities, is discussed in Alice P. Kenney “Sir Galahad and the Knight of the Apron-String” *New York History* 51 (Oct 1970) 301–22.

Than sway of self; these like a dream dissolve  
And man rebounds whole aeons back in nature. (CP p 57)

Thus evolutionary theory and the sense of geologic time and interstellar space reinforce the historical analogy, when, as in Netherlands cities, brutal disorder is put down by the brute force of Draco—simultaneously the constellation, the fire-breathing dragon of heraldry, medieval legend, and feudal power, and the New York regiments hastily recalled from Gettysburg. After this, the conclusion reiterates the allusion to a medieval Flemish town to emphasize Melville's acceptance of human nature in all its ambiguity, and his outspoken awareness of the challenge thus presented by facts to the classic truths which Americans hold to be self-evident:

the Town, redeemed,  
Gives thanks devout; nor, being thankful, heeds  
The grimy slur on the Republic's faith implied,  
Which holds that Man is naturally good,  
And—more—is Nature's Roman, never to be scourged. (CP p 57)

Finally, Melville also worked into his poetry the tradition of the great Dutch painters of the seventeenth-century Golden Age. He evokes the spirits of those Old Masters by depicting them gathered, with a number of Italian painters, for a discussion of the nature of the picturesque, in a poem called "At the Hostelry," which was probably written soon after his visits to galleries in Amsterdam and elsewhere in Europe in 1857, although it was not published until 1924. In this poem, the Italians are much more interested in discussing the theory of the picturesque, while the down-to-earth Dutchmen give practical examples of what they consider picturesque in their own works. Swanevelt, for example, replies to a Gothic definition in terms of beauty and terror: "For me, I take to Nature's scene / Some scene select, set off serene / With any tranquil thing you please . . ." (CP p 319). A contretemps between the courtly Van Dyck and the convivial Franz Hals over the merits of patronage is interrupted by Adriaen Brouwer's defense of earthly realism, which ends with a friendly jab at Rembrandt, who, however, remains wrapped in impenetrable reserve. Van der Velde, the marine painter, recalls the Dutch naval victories of the Golden Age, which Gerard Douw contrasts with the homely details of genre, particularly the plump charms of *huisvrouwen*, which Rubens immediately wishes to idealize as the beauties of Venus. Finally, Jan Steen sums up the conversation with a philosophy typically Dutch and equally typically Melvillean:

All's picturesque beneath the sun;  
I mean, all's picture; death and life



Pictures and pendants, nor at strife—  
No, never to hearts that muse thereon.  
For me, 'tis life, plain life, I limn—  
Not satin-glossed and flossy-fine  
(Our Turburg's forte here, good for him).  
No, but the life that's *wine and brine*  
The mingled brew, the thing as spanned  
By Jan who kept the Leyden tavern  
And every rollicker fellowly scanned—  
And, under his vineyard, lo, a cavern!  
But jolly is Jan, and never in picture  
Sins against sinners in Pharisee stricture.  
Jan o' the Inn, 'tis he, for ruth,  
Dashes with fun art's canvas of truth. (CP 329-30)

Dutch influences in Melville's works, therefore, clearly include elements from Hudson Valley folklore, basic attitudes toward language, rhetoric, and literary form, and values fundamental to the Hudson Valley Dutch tradition as well as explicit references to Dutch subject matter. Many elements from folklore have been irretrievably lost with the death of most speakers of the Dutch dialect, but some may still be recoverable from local histories and a few elderly informants in remote areas of the Hudson Valley; interested folklorists should make themselves familiar, without further loss of time, with the collections of Dr Lawrence G. Van Loon. It is also possible that folklorists, by paying more attention to the apparently unconscionably neglected folklore of the Netherlands, can discover clues to Dutch elements in the English-language folklore which has been collected in upstate New York. Recovery of the attitudes and values will require study of the total literary tradition of the Netherlands and of the body of writings in Dutch (mostly sermons) and English (mostly political tracts) produced by Americans of Dutch descent in the colonial and early national periods. More work is also needed on the Hudson Valley Dutch tradition as a whole, bringing together history, literature, arts and crafts, and religious beliefs, and pointing out the contributions of various regional, social, and ethnic subcultures to the whole. Finally, the Dutch tradition of cosmopolitanism, its expression in the work of Knickerbocker writers and artists, and its interpretation by nineteenth-century Americans not of Dutch descent, needs to be thoroughly reconsidered. Then it will be possible to follow out some of the suggestions made in this article, and to determine with some degree of assurance the extent of Dutch influence in Melville's works. I expect that this influence would prove to be massive.

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EARL N. HARBERT

## Irving's *A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada*

An Essay in the History of  
Publication, Revision, and Critical Reception

SINCE 1967, when a systematic search for previously unknown forms of *A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada* was begun, the history of Washington Irving's most experimental Spanish book has accumulated new complexity and interest. The discovery of additional manuscripts and printed editions has added greatly to what was previously known about the author's attitudes and practices, especially those practices upon which he relied to protect himself from financial loss at the hands of literary "pirates" in England and America. Irving was both a shrewd businessman and an inconsistent artist, and he left behind a mass of evidence that establishes beyond serious doubt the presence of a complex combination of interests in the man as well as of varied pressures and influences upon his work. If more of this evidence had been available to so good a friend of Irving's as Stanley Williams, his most influential biographer and critic, perhaps our understanding of *Granada* and our appreciation of its author's life during the years from 1826 until 1850 would be different. In any case, the following paragraphs attempt to set forth briefly what now is known about *Granada* and to point out in a limited way what the textual evidence, especially recently found evidence, can contribute to a fuller appreciation of Washington Irving and of his role in American letters.

### I

The history of *A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada* begins in 1826, and presents a confusing course to follow through the next twenty-five years of Irving's life. The idea of writing

"a work for publication on the subject of the Conquest by Ferdinand and Isabella"<sup>1</sup> first came to him while he was completing his massive *History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (4 vols, 1828). Among the manuscripts in Madrid in the library of Obadiah Rich, pioneer American bibliographer and collector of books and papers concerned with the Americas, Irving found several engrossing accounts of the expulsion of the Moors from Spain during the fifteenth century. These documents diverted his attention for at least two months from the unfinished life of Columbus, which he had already offered as a whole book to John Murray of London, his English publisher since the appearance of *The Sketch Book* in 1820.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the author's enthusiasm over the materials for *Granada* led him to announce in a letter dated December 21 1826, describing the Columbus manuscript to Murray, who had not yet seen it, that "I have also another work in hand, more in my own way, and which I could soon get ready for the press but I do not intend to publish it until after Columbus."<sup>3</sup>

As usual Irving's estimate proved wildly optimistic. During the next two years, while he wandered among the magnificent architectural remains of the old Moorish kingdom in Spain and immersed himself in other accounts of old Spanish history, especially those housed in the Archives of the Indies in Seville, which long had been all but inaccessible to non-Spaniards, the American continued to rework the first rough outlines of *Granada*. Finally, in September 1828, he was able to send off from Cadiz two manuscripts for the new book, one to London and the other to America, each containing the first half of the complete text. This preparation and transmission of duplicate manuscripts represented Irving's calculated method of attempting to guarantee copyright protection for both the English and American editions of his works; it operated to safeguard his literary income from "pirates" on both sides of the Atlantic. However, the method also presented the author with a special set of demands, the most obvious being a requirement for two copies of an authoritative text, from which printers in both London and Philadelphia could set editions of *Granada* at the same time. In the years before typewriting became common and before carbon-copy reproduction made duplication easy, Irving found a solution in the use of copyists, who attempted to reproduce by hand the author's original holograph version. Evidence of the em-

1 Washington Irving to Alexander Everett, Oct 21 1828. See Pierre M. Irving *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving* 4 vols (NY: G. P. Putnam 1862-64) II 348. Hereafter cited as PML.

2 The complex relationship between Washington Irving and the Murray establishment has provided a

rich chapter in the history of English publishing. For a full account, see *Washington Irving and the House of Murray: Geoffrey Crayon Charms The British*, 1817-1856, ed Ben Harris McClary (Knoxville: Univ of Tennessee Press 1969); hereafter cited as McClary.

3 Holograph, Murray Archives.

ployment of Spanish "Friars" in this task, as well as notations about attempts to correct the results of their work, can be found in the passages of Irving's diary that deal with *Granada*.<sup>4</sup> In fact, the English manuscript, delivered to Irving's agent, Thomas Aspinwall in London—both the first and second parts—largely represents the product of paid copyists who had used Irving's American manuscript as their model. Whatever his reasons, the writer preferred to send his own handwritten text to America; while the partially corrected copy went to London.

From the record it is clear that Irving's pragmatic arrangement caused him a number of artistic problems. A little more than two weeks after he had dispatched the first portion of the *Granada* manuscript to Aspinwall, his agent in London, the author followed it with a revision of the "Introduction" and a new opening paragraph for chapter 1 (this time both in Irving's hand). This would prove to be only the first of many attempts to alter the form and contents of *Granada*, as we shall see; yet the real significance of such an early revision does not emerge clearly unless we understand that the writer himself could not anticipate any later opportunity to correct his book at the stage of printer's proof. His continuing residence in Spain made reading proof impractical; despatching manuscripts to America and England therefore represented Irving's act of resignation from further authorial control. Of course, at the time that the revised "Introduction" was sent to Aspinwall, John Murray had not yet accepted the manuscript for publication, and the author knew that particular care with the opening sections might help to effect a favorable judgment and perhaps more generous financial terms. On the other hand, although the reasons are not entirely clear, it is interesting to note that neither the revised "Introduction" nor the new beginning for chapter 1 became a part of the American edition of *Granada*.

Two packages containing duplicate second halves of the manuscript were sent off by Irving from Cadiz on October 18 1828.<sup>5</sup> Just as the author intended, the House of Murray had contracted for the English edition of *Granada*, while Carey, Lea, and Carey of Philadelphia agreed to print an American edition. These arrangements apparently satisfied the writer for a time, even though, by putting two copies of the manuscript into transit, he had left himself without a complete version of *Granada* at hand. This soon proved to be a cause of some embarrassment. Certainly Irving's method of insuring copyright protection by supplying both American and English publishers with manuscripts showed his more than merely competent grasp of business realities. In his arrangements, moreover, he went even

<sup>4</sup> *Washington Irving, Diary, Spain 1828-1829* ed. Clara L. Penney (NY: Hispanic Society of America 1926); hereafter cited as Penney.

<sup>5</sup> See Penney and PMI II 344.

further to guard against accidents; he instructed Aspinwall to send a set of Murray's proof sheets on to America as quickly as possible. With foresight that amounted to premonition, Irving wrote: "I wish, as the work is printed, you would procure a copy in sheets and forward the sheets, peace [sic] meal, to America. I have sent a Ms. copy there, but it may miscarry."<sup>6</sup> In view of such careful contingency planning, it may seem all the more surprising that Irving should have committed to the uncertainties of sea travel the only complete manuscripts in existence—a most unbusinesslike decision perhaps, but one that would have caused no difficulty except for a related instance of human error, once again the author's own.

The first indication of his mistake reached Irving during December 1828 in a letter from Aspinwall.<sup>7</sup> As he composed his reply on December 20, Irving explained the problem he was facing:

In your letter of Dec. 5 you say that several pages of my Ms. are wanting. . . . Had you sent me the subject of the chapters missing—or a portion of the last page before and the first page after the hiatus—I should have been able to divine the purport of the passage wanting and to have supplied it partly from my notes and partly from memory. At present I am utterly at a loss—I have no copy of the work by me—one copy was sent to London the other to America. . . . The work can go on printing, leaving a sheet vacant. The materials to fill it up can be made to fit exactly either by curtailing or swelling out the Ms. I shall send. In the interim I shall rummage through my papers over and over (I have done so twice already) and shall beat my brain to endeavor to arrive [?] at the passage wanting; why the deuce could you not have sent me a sentence at least as a clew—something that gave a definite idea.<sup>8</sup>

As he attempted to separate the scribal copy from the holograph manuscript, Irving had erred. Both sets of chapters 34 and 35 had been dispatched to America; in consequence, Murray's manuscript remained incomplete.

Although the author did not fully comprehend what had happened, he acted quickly to supply what was needed, finally relying upon himself to provide new material. Before he actually began to compose these replacement chapters, however, Washington first sent off a letter with new instructions to his brother Ebenezer Irving, his agent in America: "I shall endeavor to devise some mode of getting out of the dilemma, but at all events, I wish you to have those chapters copied immediately, and forwarded by the first packet to Col. Thomas

6 Holograph letter (Oct 22 1828), University of Virginia Libraries.

7 See Penney, especially the entry for Dec 22 1828.

8 Holograph letter, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Cal

Aspinwall, American Consul, London.”<sup>9</sup> Such a solution would require time, of course, before it could be effected. Meanwhile, the presses in London might be stopped and the edition delayed, which would endanger the validity of the English copyright. Therefore, when Washington Irving, searching through his notes for *Granada*, came upon “a memorandum in lead-pencil stating the contents of the two chapters,” he forgot about the American copy and began to compose new pages to fill the “hiatus.”<sup>10</sup> Within a few days, by December 24 1828, the distraught writer had completed and sent off to Aspinwall new versions of the two missing chapters. These took their places in the first English edition of 1829.<sup>11</sup> Of course the variant text of these chapters, as well as the revised “Introduction” and the opening paragraph of chapter 1 (plus many other less obvious variants), made the English edition of 1829 distinctly and identifiably different from the first American edition of the same year. In effect, they are two separate books. The textual differences between them, nevertheless, seem to have caused their author very little concern.

In fact, his wisdom in providing new materials to meet the crisis must have been gratifying to Irving when, two months later, he was informed that the second and final segment of the American manuscript apparently had been lost in yet another accident. The writer’s irritation, as reported to Aspinwall, is understandable: “I hope that you have been punctual in forwarding the work in sheets, as fast as received, to America, as, by some unaccountable blunder, several of the last chapters of the manuscript forwarded there have miscarried.”<sup>12</sup> The practical American had good reason to order a transatlantic exchange of printer’s proof as insurance against failure in his dual venture in publishing. And despite all these precautions, he was still experiencing the frustrations of trying to conduct two complicated business enterprises from a third, very distant location, his artistic home in Spain. Luckily, the report of trouble proved false, and the American edition, printed from a manuscript that has survived in nearly complete form, appeared in March 1829. The title page was deposited for copyright on March 6.<sup>13</sup>

In London, meanwhile, John Murray had registered *Granada* for copyright on March 5 1829, depositing at that time the required eleven copies of the title and identifying Washington Irving as the author.<sup>14</sup> This priority of the English registration later proved important

9 Dec 20 1828, PMI II 360–61.

10 See Penney, especially the entry for Dec 22 1828.

11 WI to Thomas Aspinwall, Dec 27 1828, PMI II 360–61.

12 Holograph letter, Feb 28 1829, Huntington Library.

13 See *Bibliography of American Literature* comp Jacob Blanck (New Haven: Yale Univ Press 1966–) v 37; hereafter cited as *BAL*.

14 The confusion about the history and validity of the English copyright for *Granada* has been cleared away in McClary: see especially p 221.

because it represented a necessary condition for valid English copyright. Yet the author himself was not kept informed about the progress of his book; nor did he make any attempt to correct the differences between the two editions at the stage of printer's proof. He simply had no access to the sheets so long as he remained in Spain. In 1827, Irving had explained his situation while making arrangements for the publication of *Columbus*, the first of his "Spanish" volumes:

As to correction of the press, I must trust that to its fate, for I cannot leave Spain at present being up to the chin in literary researches which I hope to turn to good account. Mr. [Alexander H.] Everett told me some time since that he thought it probable Mr. Lawrence, Secretary of Legation at London would feel a pleasure in superintending the publication of the work. . . . I know Mr. Lawrence only by the many good accounts I have had of him from others, and dare not ask him to undertake what I consider a very irksome task. If, however, he will permit reference to be made to him in case of any point of doubt or obscurity I shall feel greatly obliged, and will gladly submit my manuscript to any correction that he may think advisable.<sup>15</sup>

Again in 1829, his continuing residence in Spain allowed Irving to excuse himself from the "very irksome task" of correcting proof sheets, this time for *Granada*. And his complementary argument for entrusting the sheets of the American edition to the care of Ebenezer Irving made even better sense, since the hazards of the long journey to and from America had already been demonstrated.

This surrender of authorial control at the stage of proof correction helps to explain the special interest that Washington Irving afterward displayed in correcting and revising the first printings of *Granada*, which appeared in both America and England in 1829. But textual history aside, some understanding of the author's feelings of remoteness and near helplessness during the publication process also provides the necessary background for appreciating his response when he first saw his book in print. What might otherwise appear as naive pretense takes on the complex tones of apprehension, surprise, relief, and hope tinged with foreboding: "I have just looked into the work. It reads smoothly and I trust will have good success among the literary; but I suspect it will be heavy in the hands of mere readers for amusement."<sup>16</sup> Irving's judgment was not shared by publishers in Germany, France, and Spain, however, who acted quickly to bring out their own editions of *Granada*, based upon the Murray text.

Another consequence of the author's resignation from the usual publishing process proved to be especially unpleasant. Throughout the hectic months of 1828, the likelihood of

15 WI to Thomas Aspinwall, Oct 8 1827; holograph letter, University of Virginia Libraries.

16 WI to Thomas Aspinwall, Apr 10 1829, PMI II 376

inconsistencies between the English and American editions, introduced first by the necessity of converting two separate handwritten manuscripts into print and made more certain by his submission of revised chapters to one publisher only, did not especially trouble Irving because he thought that his position was protected: he had planned that both editions of *Granada* would be issued without any clear identification of himself as the real author. In place of his own name, the pseudonym "Fray Antonio Agapida" was to appear on the title page, so that no direct link to Washington Irving would be established. The American edition of 1829 exactly followed out this plan, which must have occurred readily enough to a writer who earlier in his career had hidden himself behind the names of other fictitious narrators, such as Geoffrey Crayon and Diedrich Knickerbocker. In February 1829, Irving explained his object in *Granada*: "I have adopted a *nom de guerre*, as allowing me a freer scope in touching up and coloring the subject from my imagination."<sup>17</sup> Unlike the American publisher, however, John Murray, with a shrewd regard for good business which Irving could respect if not always admire, overruled the wishes of the absent author and thus added to his discomfort. The mixture of pride and pain that surfaced in Irving's response when he first looked into Murray's *Granada* and saw there his own name as author, tells the story of a sensitive man, much concerned about his literary reputation:

Murray has published the Chronicle in a beautiful style. I observe he has altered the title page. I had put 'A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada by Fray Antonio Agapida.' He has inserted my name; I presume to make the work more immediately salable, but it is an unwarrantable liberty, and makes me gravely, in my own name, tell many round untruths. I here openly make myself responsible as an author for the existence of the manuscript of Agapida, etc., etc. Literary mystifications are excusable when given anonymously or under feigned names, but are impudent deceptions when sanctioned by an author's real name.<sup>18</sup>

Murray's disregard of Irving's intentions had opened an important question of propriety—the propriety of Fray Antonio Agapida's appearance in *Granada*—to which both the real author and his most vocal critics would address themselves in one form or another over the next twenty-five years.

Meanwhile, on May 9 1829, almost a month after he first viewed his book, Irving addressed a complaint to Murray himself:

17 PMI II 369. For a full discussion of the importance of the pseudonym, see Earl N. Harbert "Fray Antonio Agapida and Washington Irving's Romance with History" *Tulane Studies in English* (1969) 135-44. William Charvat, in *Literary Publishing in America, 1790-1850*

(Philadelphia: Univ of Pennsylvania Press 1959), points out that in some American editions, "Irving's name was printed on the reverse of the title page as the copy-righter of the work" (p 79).

18 WI to Peter Irving, Apr 10 1824, PMI II 376.



I have received a Copy of the Conquest of Granada and am much pleased with the style in which it is got up; but I must protest against the alteration you have made in the title page. I do not conceive [sic] that the purchase of the work gave you any right to make such alteration. I put in the title page the name of Fray Antonio Agapida as author of the Chronicle. You must have perceived [sic] that this was a Nom de Guerre to enable me to assume greater freedom & latitude in the execution of the work, and to mingle a tinge of romance and satire with the grave historical details. By inserting my name in the title page as the avowed author, you make me personally responsible for the verity of the facts and the soundness of the opinions of what was intended to be given as a romantic chronicle. I presume you have done this to avail yourself of whatever attraction my name might have in drawing immediate attention to the work, but this might have been effected in some other way, without meddling with the work itself, which ought never to be touched without the knowledge and consent of the author. I am sorry to make these complaints, but these matters displease and annoy me. I have been annoyed too by your forebodings of ill success to this work. When you have the spirit to give a large price for a work, why have you not the spirit to go manfully through with it, until the public will determine its fate.<sup>19</sup>

Irving's indignant lecture to Murray and the further misunderstandings which characterized their relationship during the following months, principally concerning delays in the general sale of *Granada* and the related matter of secure copyright, together offer ample evidence of the American's realization that he had paid a stiff price for abnegation of the usual authorial responsibilities.<sup>20</sup>

Under the circumstances that surrounded publication of the two *Granada* editions of 1829—English and American—Washington Irving's anxiety (if not his occasional self-righteousness) about his work seems natural and unaffected. Doubtless after the crises caused by missing chapters, misdirected and miscarried manuscripts, and the vacillations of his English publisher, and in view of his practical concern with protecting two copyrights, the physical presence of a completed book in any form must have been reassuring. Afterward there would be ample time for reconsideration—for second thoughts about whether or not *Granada* would add some measure of hard-won luster to his literary reputation. In 1829, however, the matter of achievement, as the author reminded Murray, should be left "until the public will determine its fate." For, in preparing his manuscripts and arranging to have them published, Irving had acted as both artist and businessman. In 1828, long before he took an outspokenly defensive stance in his quarrel with Murray, he had made his ambivalent role in the 1829 *Granada* a matter of record: "I should have preferred waiting

19 Holograph letter, Murray Archives.

20 For the full story of the troubles between author and publisher, see McClary.

until the whole manuscript was completely copied, that I might have given it a careful revision in its entire state, but the delays of the copiers are so intolerable that I was in danger of losing the season."<sup>21</sup> Bargaining with a publisher, directing the efforts of agents on the scene such as Thomas Aspinwall and Ebenezer Irving, keeping the presses supplied with copy, worrying about sales—these were the achievements of the businessman in Irving, who played an important part in the history of *Granada* up to 1829. After that date, the story of this "experiment" in literature would find Washington Irving the literary artist cast in the dominant role.

## II

Any consideration of Irving's artistic achievements in *Granada* is best begun by calling attention to the chronologically central position of the book among his "Spanish" volumes. *Granada* was published just after what he regarded as a work of "straight" history, *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (1828), and just before the collection of romantic tales entitled *The Alhambra* (1832). In all three books the American author sought to find and make use of a satisfactory literary method for treating the non-American past, a matter which had occupied his thoughts as early as 1823, when he determined to avoid in his future writings any imitation of Sir Walter Scott.<sup>22</sup> About *Granada*, Irving later declared:

The Chronicle, I am aware, is something of an experiment, and all experiments in literature or in any thing also are doubtful. It is not . . . a mere translation of an old Spanish chronicle, and of course addressed merely to the taste of those who are curious in literature of the kind (of which I count myself one). But I have made a work out of old chronicles, embellished, as well as I am able, by the imagination, and adapted to the romantic taste of the day. Something that was to be between a history and a romance.<sup>23</sup>

For Irving, then, the book marked a departure from any earlier approach to history or historical materials. *Granada*, as he envisioned it, would fill a special place, not only among volumes of Spanish or European history, but also in the *corpus* of his own writings, which he acknowledged as a unitary argument for professional status:

A literary reputation, to hold well with the public, requires some *make weights* of the kind. Some

21 PMI II 341.

22 PMI II 166.

23 WI to Thomas Aspinwall, Apr 4 1829; holograph letter, Huntington Library

massier materials, which form a foundation; the lighter works then become ornaments and embellishments.<sup>24</sup>

As a "make weight" *Granada* was designed to treat major source materials in an authoritative albeit experimental manner. In its author's view, the permanent value of the book rested chiefly upon two things: first, the authenticity or historical accuracy of the account presented; and second, the literary success of the narrative voice (Fray Antonio Agapida) in communicating an appropriate point of view as he recounted the action of the chronicle. On the first matter, there is now general agreement that Irving's treatment of his Spanish sources was neither slavishly imitative ("mere translation") nor, on the other hand, completely irresponsible.<sup>25</sup> His "romantic history" did not attempt to be "historical romance"; rather, it was designed to entertain the reader without losing in the process "the intrinsic truth of history," in which Irving firmly believed.<sup>26</sup> Difficult as the position may be to understand today, his desire for a nice balance between "truth" and "coloring" explains to a large degree the uncertain manner of the *Granada* of 1829, and even more, the motives of the author as he continued to both revise and defend his volume during the years following its initial appearance.

Concerning the propriety of Agapida, much has been written, some of it by Irving himself.<sup>27</sup> The author knew that, for the book to be successful, his fictitious friar must emerge as a plausible spokesman for the contents of the various individual chronicles which together provided the historical roots of *Granada*—as a voice that appeared consistent with the style and tone in which these chronicles were being retold. Agapida was introduced into the account as a useful literary device, to help eliminate the gap between the ancient past and the literary present; he was expected to erase the commonsense boundaries between fact and fiction, reality and romance. In short, the Spanish monk served as a unifier, bringing closer into harmony the diverse segments of narrative (derived from many sources), the several points of observation and reflection on the events presented, and the overall tone of the

24 See PMI 1:344–45.

25 See Louise M. Hoffman "Irving's Use of Spanish Sources in *The Conquest of Granada*" *Hispania* (1945) 483–98, and Stanley T. Williams *The Life of Washington Irving* 2 vols (NY: Oxford Univ Press 1935). The latter hereafter cited as STW; the "Supplementary Studies" II 308–14, are especially useful. See also my "Washington Irving's *Conquest of Granada*: A Spanish Experiment that Failed" *Clio* 3 (1974) 305–13.

26 Irving expressed himself most clearly in a letter to Thomas Aspinwall, dated Aug 31 1828. For the most complete discussion of Irving as a historian, see William L. Hedges *Washington Irving: An American Study, 1802–1832* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ Press 1965); hereafter cited as Hedges.

27 WI's main contribution to the debate, discussed briefly in my text, is contained in the *Quarterly Review* 63 (1830) 55–80. See also STW and Hedges.

composite account. Of course, in a different way, his presence offered a special advantage, as we have already noted. The act of inserting Agapida into the book established a separation between the putative and the real authors, which should have kept Washington Irving out of public view until he had time enough to evaluate the results of his literary "experiment." But for readers in England and on the European continent, at least, this subterfuge did not exist. Because of Murray's alterations in the title page of the manuscript he printed, Washington Irving's authorship of *Granada* was revealed, without providing, in the author's view at least, any adequate explanation for the use of Agapida in the book.

Soon after receiving Irving's letter of protest, John Murray, in his turn, began to share something of the American's concern over the fate of *Granada*. Late in 1829, he proposed to pay Irving an additional fifty guineas for an article explaining the method of the book and commissioned to appear in the *Quarterly Review*, which the English publisher owned and controlled. There, in the issue for May 1830, an unsigned essay from Irving's hand put the author's views before the general public; thus, Irving placed himself in the unusual position of reviewing his own book in the pages of his publisher's journal.

Eventually, questions about the propriety of Irving's conduct developed into a literary feud with Rufus W. Griswold, today known to the world chiefly as an infamous biographer of Edgar Allan Poe.<sup>28</sup> By that time in 1842, however, the merits and arguments of the essay itself had been lost in the controversy. Here, it is interesting to note that the author's special opportunity to comment on his own intentions in his book without revealing his identity actually led him into another kind of dissimulation: the essay, when it considered the question of authorial intentions in *Granada*, elicited from the one man who should have known best, a curiously indirect response. Summarizing his achievement of two years before, Irving remarked: "His great object *appears to have been* to produce a complete and authentic body of facts relative to the war in question, but arranged in such a manner as to be attractive to the reader for mere amusement."<sup>29</sup>

Concerning the role of Agapida, however, Irving wrote more lucidly than ever before. He hoped at once to clear away the confusion about fiction and fact that surrounded his narrator and to advance his reader's understanding of the literary necessities that had first occasioned the use of a *nom de guerre*:

This friar is manifestly a mere fiction—a stalking-horse, from behind which the author launches his satire at the intolerance of that persecuting age, and at the errors, the inconsistencies, and the self-

28 On this quarrel, see McClary, p 126 and 186ff.

29 *Quarterly Review* (May 1830) 57; italics mine.

delusions of the singular medly [sic] of warriors, saints, politicians, and adventurers engaged in that holy war. Fray Antonio, however, may be considered as an incarnation of the blind bigotry and zealot extravagance of the 'good old orthodox Spanish chroniclers'; and, in fact, his exaggerated sallies of loyalty and religion are taken, almost word for word, from the works of some one or other of the monkish historians. Still, this fictitious personage has enabled the author to indulge his satirical vein at once more freely and more modestly, . . . the use of such machinery has thrown a doubt upon the absolute verity of his history; and it will take some time, before the general mass of readers become convinced that the pretended manuscript of Fray Antonio Agapida is, in truth, a faithful digest of actual documents.<sup>30</sup>

In this passage Irving laid down the essential argument for his use of Agapida, and at the same time, he made a case for the historical authenticity of *Granada*. The deeply felt artistic need for adding to the bare narrative a coloring of romance, irony, and religious fanaticism—all in the name of a more complete and interesting history of events—became henceforth the bulwark in Washington Irving's defense of *Granada* and a notion fixed in his mind. His justification was later repeated in almost the same words in the "Note To The Revised Edition," added to the Putnam printing of 1850, and there his case was strengthened by the inclusion of testimonials from two respected historians, the Spaniard Miguel Alcántara and the American William H. Prescott, who verified the historical accuracy of Irving's work. Before the "Note" appeared, to offer the author's final defense, however, the controversy over the original (and anonymous) *Quarterly Review* piece had already brought home charges of ethical impropriety serious enough to cause Irving much embarrassment and, more important, irritating enough to keep both Agapida and *Granada* constantly alive in their author's mind and letters during the twenty years that followed their first appearance.

### III

The foregoing sections of this essay offer a brief history of the *Granada* (or better, the two *Granadas*) of 1829, together with some suggestions about what the book in its earliest states meant to the author. His long-lived concern with improving the text of what he had written, beginning even before publication, with the submission of a revised "Introduction" and a new opening paragraph for chapter 1, led him to rework *Granada* intermittently from 1828 until 1850, when the most authoritative of all editions appeared as volume xiv in the *Works of Washington Irving*, issued by G. P. Putnam in New York and by John Murray in London. Now, with this outline in mind, we are ready to consider the chief features of *Granada*'s

30 *Quarterly Review* (May 1830) 57–58.

history during this period of revision and change. The anonymous *Quarterly Review* essay of 1830, in which *Granada's* author attempted to explain and defend his work, represents the first alteration to the original form of the book that later claimed a place in the Author's Revised Edition of 1850. His earlier revisions of the manuscript "Introduction" and of chapter 1 (which were incorporated into the 1829 English edition but not into the American), as well as the substitute chapters 34 and 35, did not appear in the 1850 text, which was based instead on the American edition of 1829. After 1829, as we have noted, Irving occupied himself off and on with correcting and changing *Granada*, and some of these efforts culminated in yet another manuscript, which consists of corrected pages from a printed copy of the 1829 English edition, together with authorial additions in Irving's hand. In its surviving form the manuscript contains fifty-two printed and twenty-six handwritten sections, approximately forty-eight pages in all.

This partial text apparently reached Murray at some time, but so far as can be determined, it did not serve as the basis for any subsequent revisions to the printed text. It does provide documentary evidence of the author's continuing interest in his book of Moorish history, and an important source of information about Irving's usual methods and habits when he reworked materials already in print.<sup>31</sup> Although no certain evidence has survived, it is reasonable to suppose that in preparing his text for the 1850 Putnam printing, Irving proceeded in much the same way, this time, however, correcting, changing, and supplementing a printed copy of the American rather than the English edition of 1829.

Most important among Irving's many additions to the original book, made as he prepared for the 1850 edition, was the inclusion of a substantial amount of his *Quarterly Review* article, especially those complimentary remarks by Prescott and Alcántara, now newly titled "Note To The Revised Edition."<sup>32</sup> The critical response provoked by the fictive character of Fray Antonio Agapida and also by the old debate about historical accuracy—these two matters obviously weighed heavily in all of Irving's thoughts concerning his book, from the time of its first appearance in public until at least the completion of his Revised Edition. As he remarked in the last lines of his "Note,"

Though I still retain the fiction of the monkish author Agapida, I have brought my narrative more strictly within historical bounds, have corrected and enriched it in various parts with facts recently

31 WT's methods of revising his printed work are also discussed in McClary, p. 146.

32 WI explained his "Note To The Revised Edition" in a footnote (p. xv): "Many of the observations in this

note have already appeared in an explanatory article which, at Mr. Murray's request, the author furnished to the London Quarterly Review."

brought to light by the researches of Alcántara and others; and have sought to render it a faithful and characteristic picture of the romantic portion of history to which it relates.<sup>33</sup>

For the reader who sought an explanation that could translate these abstract generalizations into more concrete results, Irving provided guidance to his reordering of materials for the 1850 edition in a new set of footnotes. A sample should suffice to show the direction of his changes:

In a first edition of this work the author recounted a characteristic adventure of the stout Juan de Vera, as happening on the occasion of this embassy; a further consultation of historical authorities has induced him to transfer it to a second embassy of De Vera's; which the reader will find related in a subsequent chapter.<sup>34</sup>

In fact, the "subsequent chapter" actually begins some 240 pages further on; thus, this note offers evidence of the large-scale reorganization which took place in preparation for the Author's Revised Edition.

Over and over, Irving tried to show that he had worked hard to make the 1850 edition a better book than any of its predecessors, especially a more accurate historical account, both in overall organization and conception and in the myriad details that had come down to him from the varied source materials. Everywhere in the Author's Revised Edition there are indications that the sensitive American had paid careful attention to what his audience had said about the 1829 versions of *Granada* and, in particular, to what certain knowledgeable historians had written publicly and privately about his book.

#### IV

The reception accorded *Granada* has followed to a remarkable degree the divided course the author himself anticipated in his letters. On one hand there are the reactions of readers who looked to Irving for a work of imaginative literature; on the other, the responses of those who expected an accurate history of the Moors in Spain. Another division may also be discerned between the group of "literary" readers, past and present, who have largely registered their disappointment with the work, and the general approval of a large popular audience, who have generously supported translations and reprintings over the years. In every sense, *Granada's* critical fate has been mixed. Perhaps the most significant judgment of the book, at least in so far as it helps to point up a reason for this confused critical history,

33 *A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada* (NY: Putnam 1850) "Introduction" p xviii–xix.

34 *Ibid.*, p 28.

was offered by the American scholar and critic Stanley Williams, after an intensive study of all of Irving's writings. He found *Granada* to be "a book which no critic has ever been able to classify," and thus, something of an anomaly.<sup>35</sup> The whole critical record, even up until the present time, bears out this view.

In fairness to *Granada* and to Irving, it should be noted that the most obvious decline in the reputation of the book has taken place among historians, whom the author originally managed to please with the 1829 printings, and for whose special approval he made many of the revisions in the 1850 edition. Certainly *Granada* no longer measures up to modern requirements for history. Writing in 1829, however, William H. Prescott claimed in an influential review that the book fell "within the class of narrative history." He then went on to affirm, "we may honestly recommend it as substantially an authentic record."<sup>36</sup> No wonder that Irving was pleased. Prescott's review had a special value because of his acknowledged familiarity with Spanish source materials, and just this authority led him to commend the element of novelty in *Granada* which seemed certain to make the book a popular success. For Irving, according to Prescott, was first in the field, the first popular writer to treat these episodes of Moorish history in the English language.

A general interest in the subject and also in the American author, who was acclaimed everywhere in Europe, helps to explain the rapid appearance of translations into Dutch, French, German, Spanish, and Swedish—all of which were in print by 1831. In Spain, as one might expect, *Granada* (which first appeared in Spanish in a greatly abridged edition) soon filled an important place in the historical and literary traditions of the country. There, ever since, the influence of the book has been deeply felt, and its reputation has endured.<sup>37</sup> In a

35 "Washington Irving" *Literary History of the United States* ed R. Spiller et al, 3rd ed rev (NY: Macmillan 1963) 249.

36 *North American Review* (Oct 1829) 314. This long review was reprinted in *Biographical and Critical Miscellanies* (NY: Harper 1845) 88-122. In it Prescott discusses WI's Spanish sources and suggests that *Granada* represents the first important treatment of the subject in English. It is true, however, that Irving could have read an abridged English translation of one of his main sources for *Granada*, Pérez de Hita's *History of Granada*, available in translation by Thomas Rodd as *The Civil Wars of Granada* (London: 1803). See STW II 286.

37 In addition to BAL, the most important listings

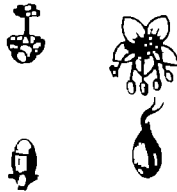
of WI's works in English and in various translations may be found in: *Washington Irving, A Bibliography* comp William R. Langfeld and Philip C. Blackburn (The New York Public Library 1933; rpt. Port Washington: Kennikat Press [1968] with the addition of H. L. Kleinfield "A Census of Washington Irving Manuscripts" from BNYPL 68 [1964] 13-32); *A Bibliography of the Writings of Washington Irving* comp S. T. Williams and M. E. Edge (NY & Oxford: Oxford Univ Press 1936); S. T. Williams *The Spanish Backgrounds of American Literature* 2 vols (New Haven: Yale Univ Press 1955); STW II; John E. Englekirk *Bibliografía de Obras Norteamericanas en Traducción Española* (Mexico: [Revista iberoamericana] 1944); *A Provisional Bibliography of United States Books Translated into*



recognizable way, Washington Irving had beaten Spanish writers to a most worthy goal: he had given to the world a coherent account of a fascinating chapter in their own native history, and he was honored more than envied for his coup.

Elsewhere, the world has shown its appreciation of *Granada* with a restrained although not an ungrateful reception. More than anything else, that element of romance which Irving worked hard to create, especially embodied in the pathetic figure of Boabdil, the last of the royal Moors, has captured the interest of modern readers. To them, the historical account of the Moorish campaigns and the narrative usefulness of Fray Antonio Agapida, who seems finally much less memorable than either Diedrich Knickerbocker or Geoffrey Crayon, are matters of less concern. Perhaps these readers have justified Washington Irving's original "experiment" in literature—which he designed "to mingle a tinge of romance and satire with the grave historical details"—by finding in his book most of what he thought he was putting into it. At least, a consensus has been reached; the world rates *Granada* as an interesting example, but certainly not as a masterpiece, of Washington Irving's art.

*Tulane University*



*Spanish* comp by the Hispanic Foundation in the Library of Congress (Washington: Library of Congress 1957). The first translation of *Granada* into Spanish, *La Cronica de las Conquista de Granada* trans J. W. Montgomery, 2 vols (Madrid: n.p. 1831), was seriously

incomplete. Modern critical interest among Spanish scholars may be measured in the essays collected as *Washington Irving: 1859-1959* (Granada: Univ de Granada 1960).

GEORGE SELEMENT

## A Check List of Manuscript Materials Relating to Seventeenth-century New England Printed in Historical Collections

“MY DIARIES,” Cotton Mather once wrote in pique, “I have thrown, as useless Papers into the Fire.” Scholars are fortunate that New Englanders, including ultimately Mather himself, did not make a very general practice of destroying their diaries, letters, and other manuscripts. And they are favored further by having many of these valuable documents in print, as a result of the efforts of various New England historical, and antiquarian, societies. It is unfortunately difficult to exploit such printed materials because they are scattered at random throughout hundreds of volumes and mixed in with articles or committee reports. This check list will save the scholar who wants to use these rich materials weeks of sifting through volume after volume.

The scope of the check list is seventeenth-century New England, the time limitation in a few appropriate instances being extended into the early decades of the eighteenth century. It includes everything of a literary nature except wills, epitaphs, deeds, commissions, most petitions, and colony, town, court or church records. Such documents are valuable—especially to biographers, genealogists, and prosopographers—but the present list is designed to expedite the research of scholars studying the social, political, and religious aspects of New England’s intellectual life from the literature of the times. And, in the case of court records, there is David A. Flaherty’s “A Select Guide to the Manuscript Court Records of Colonial New England” in the *American Journal of Legal History* 11 (Apr 1967). There was no need to include contemporaneously published works, which are now all on microcards and indexed in the two volumes of Clifford Shipton and James E. Mooney’s *National Index of American Imprints Through 1800* (Worcester 1969). Similarly, modern editions of originally unpublished pieces which have been edited and published in book form, such as Michael McGiffert’s recent edition of Thomas Shepard’s journal and autobiography, can be located

through the card catalogue or standard bibliographies of most libraries and, therefore, were omitted. In addition, materials printed in Alexander Young's *Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay* (Boston 1816), Thomas Hutchinson's *A Collection of Original Papers Relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston 1769), W. H. Whitmore's *Andros Tracts* (3 vols; Boston 1898), William Matthews' *American Diaries* (Boston 1959), or the five-volume *Winthrop Papers* published by the Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston 1929-47) were omitted. Finally, extracts from manuscripts, particularly those quoted in articles, have generally been excluded.

The list is arranged chronologically by year and alphabetically within each year by author or, in a few cases in order to preserve space and keep the list short, the title of a collection of materials, e.g., the Mather Papers or Witchcraft Papers. Collections of materials spanning two or more years have been listed according to the date of the earliest document; the inclusive dates of such collections are always indicated in the entry. The descriptive titles suggest (but do not, obviously, reveal completely) the contents of the documents. There is also an alphabetical index.

#### *Collections Consulted*

|       |                                                                                  |
|-------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| AASTC | American Antiquarian Society Transactions and Collections, vols 1-12 (1820-1911) |
| CSMP  | Colonial Society of Massachusetts Publications, vols 1-43 (1892/94-1966)         |
| CHSC  | Connecticut Historical Society Collections, vols 1-31 (1860-1967)                |
| EIHC  | Essex Institute Historical Collections, vols 1-107 (1859-1971)                   |
| MHSC  | Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, vols 1-79 (1792-1941)              |
| MHSP  | Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, vols 1-83 (1791-1971)              |
| NEHGR | New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vols 1-125 (1847-1971)         |
| RIHSC | Rhode Island Historical Society Collections, vols 1-34 (1827-1941)               |

#### 1603

- 1 Proclamations of the British Government Relating to America (1603-1783) AASTC 12

#### 1607

- 2 James Davies, Relation of a Voyage unto New England, MHSP 18:94-110

#### 1620

- 3 Emanuel Downing, Letter to James Usher concerning the Term Puritan as a Papist Device to Discredit English Ministers, MHSC 4th Ser, 2:120-21

#### 1621

- 4 King's Arms Controversy Papers, NEHGR 28:126-37

## 1622

- 5 Charles Chauncy, *Oratio Valedictoria* [Latin with an English translation] NEHGR 10:107-09

## 1623

- 6 John Bridge, *Letter to James Sherley Giving an Account of Bridge's Voyages*, MHSP 44:180-81

## 1624

- 7 Emmanuel Altham, *Letter to James Sherley regarding Plymouth Colony*, MHSP 44:182-88  
 8 William Bradford, *Letter Book* (1624-1630) MHSC 3:27-76  
 9 John Cotton, *Letter to Bishop Williams on Cotton's Nonconformity*, NEHGR 28:137-39  
 10 English Church in Holland *Letters and Other Miscellaneous Letters* (1624-1636) MHSP 42:204-34  
 11 William Morrell, *Poem on New England* (ca. 1624) [Latin with English translation] MHSC 1:125-39

## 1625

- 12 Charles Chauncy, *Poems* [in Latin] NEHGR 10:110-13  
 13 John Cotton, *Letter to R. Levett Answering His Questions concerning Certain Amusements and Pastoral Proceedings* (ca. 1625) MHSC 2nd Ser 10:183-84  
 14 R. Levett, *Letter to John Cotton Requesting Advice on Certain Amusements and Pastoral Proceedings*, MHSC 2nd ser 10:182

## 1626

- 15 *Peters Papers* (1626-1659) EIH 71:306-18; 72:43-72, 117-34, 208-32, 303-49; 73:130-57  
 16 Ezekiel Rogers, *Letter to Joane Barrington concerning Rogers' Illness and the Drinking of Spaw*, EIH 53:215-16

## 1627

- 17 English State Papers *Extracts regarding Ecclesiastical Controversies* (1627-1633) MHSP 13 (1873-75) 332-44

## 1628

- 18 Johannes Hachting, *Letter to Johannes Gerhardi Introducing Hugh Peter* [Dutch with an English translation] MHSP 64:109-11  
 19 Nathaniel Ward, *Letter to Willian Sancroft on the Affairs of Emanuel College*, NEHGR 37:59  
 20 Winthrop Papers (1628-1728) MHSC 3rd Ser 9:226-301; 10:1-126; 4th Ser 6, 7; 5th ser 1, 8; 6th ser 3, 5

## 1629

- 21 Anon, *Original Covenant of the First Church in Salem*, NEHGR 1:224-25  
 22 Skelton Papers (1629-1634) EIH 13:11, 143-49  
 23 Roger Williams, *Letters to Lady Barrington on Personal Matters*, NEHGR 43:316-20

1630

- 24 Anon, Narrative concerning the Settlement of New England, MHSP 5 (1860-62) 129-31
- 25 ——— Verses on New England, MHSC 3rd Ser 7:29-30
- 26 John Winthrop, A Modell of Christian Charity, MHSC 3rd ser 7:33-48

1631

- 27 [Christian name unknown] Pond, Letter to William Pond on Conditions in New England, MHSP 2nd ser 8:471-73
- 28 Richard Saltonstall, Letter to Emanuell Downing on Life in New England and Encouraging Further English Support, MHSP 2nd ser 8:208-09

1632

- 29 John Stoughton, Letter to the Master of Emmanuel College Regarding Stoughton's Resignation from the Parish of Aller, MHSP 20:21-22

1633

- 30 Emanuel Downing, Letter to John Coke in Behalf of New England, MHSP 2nd ser 8:383-85
- 31 Hugh Peters, Articles and Covenant of the Congregation at Rotterdam, MHSP 42:223-24
- 32 Nathaniel Rich, Letter to William Sancroft concerning Emmanuel College, NEHGR 37:60
- 33 Thomas Welde, A Letter of Master Wells from New England to Old England to His People in Essex, CSMP 13:128-32
- 34 Wyllys Papers (1633-1700) CHSC 21:4-357

1634

- 35 Anon, A True Relation concerning the Estate of New England, NEHGR 40:68-73
- 36 James Cudworth, Letter to Dr Stoughton concerning the Plantations of New England, EHC 9:11, 81-86
- 37 Edward Winslow, Petition to the Lords of the Council regarding Religion While He Was a Prisoner in London, MHSP 5 (1860-62) 131-34
- 38 Thomas Worall, Letter to William Sancroft on the Circulation of Questionable Books, NEHGR 37:60-61

1635

- 39 Charles I, king of England, Quo Warranto [Latin with an English translation] NEHGR 38:210-16
- 40 Peter Hobart, Journal of Births, Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths (1635-1679) [David Hobart, his son, continued this until 1714] NEHGR 121:7-25, 102-27, 191-216, 269-94
- 41 Henry Vane, Letter to his Father regarding Henry's Trip to New England, MHSP 12 (1871-73) 245-46
- 42 John White, An Account of the Dispute over the Salt at Cape Ann, MHSP 43:493-96

## 1636

- 43 Harvard College Records (1636-1750) CSMP, 15, 16, 31
- 44 Pynchon Papers (1636-1644) MHSP 48:38-56
- 45 Israel Stoughton, Letter to His Brother on Troubles in New England (ca. 1636) MHSP 5 (1860-62) 134-43; see MHSP 58:450-58
- 46 John Wheelwright, A Sermon Preached at Boston in New England upon a Fast Day, MHSP 9 (1866-67) 256-74

## 1637

- 47 Anon, Questions Agreed Upon by All the Elders of the Bay, and to [Be] Conferred Upon at a Meeting, MHSP 46:275-76
- 48 John Fiske, Extracts from His Notebook on Salem, Wenham, and Chelmsford Church Matters 2nd ser 12:319-38; EHC 1:37-44
- 49 Roger Ludlowe, Letter to William Pynchon on Defense, MHSC 2nd ser 8:235-37
- 50 William Pynchon, Letter to Roger Ludlow on Defense and Trade, MHSP 58:387-88
- 51 Trumbull Papers (1637-1699) MHSC 5th ser 9:1-204

## 1638

- 52 Robert Keayne, An Account of the Trial of Anne Hutchinson, MHSP 2nd ser 4:161-91
- 53 Thomas Lechford, Notebook (1638-1641) AASTC 7:1-441
- 54 Thomas Shepard, Election Sermon, NEHGR 24:361-66

## 1639

- 55 Edmund Browne, Letter to Sir Simonds D'ewes with an Accompanying Report on Massachusetts, CSMP 7:74-80
- 56 John Davenport, Letter to Mary Vere in England about the Arrival of an English Ship, NEHGR 9:149-50

## 1640

- 57 Anon, English Ballad about New England (ca. 1640) NEHGR, 36:359-61
- 58 Dunster Papers (1640-1657) MHSC 4th ser 2:191-98

## 1641

- 59 Joseph Davyes, Letter to Henry Dunster on the English Civil War, MHSP 2nd ser 10:306
- 60 Gorton Papers (1641-1669) RIHSC 2:191-278
- 61 Hutchinson Papers (1641-1710) MHSC 3rd ser 1:2-139

## 1642

- 62 Anon, Relation of an Indian Plot to Attack the English (ca. 1642) MHSC 3rd ser 3:161-64
- 63 Ezekiel Rogers, Letter to Thomas Barrington regarding the Appointment of a Successor to Roger's Ministerial Post (ca. 1642) EHC 53:216-18

1643

- 64 Anon, A London Physician's Medical Book Prepared for John Winthrop, MHSP 5 (1860-62) 379-83
- 65 Connecticut Papers (1643-1709) CHSC 24
- 66 Peter Papers (1643-1653) NEHGR 39:371-78
- 67 Samuel Shepard, Letter to Thomas Barrington about Financial Matters and Conditions in England, EIHC 53:224-25
- 68 Thomas Welde, Letter to the Brethren of Massachusetts concerning the English Civil War, NEHGR 36:39

1644

- 69 P. Wharton, Thos. Barrington, Issaac Pennington, *et al*, Letter from Members of the British Parliament to the Magistrates of Massachusetts Urging Harmony with Roger Williams, RIHSC 4:226-27
- 70 Edward Winslow, Letter to William Bradford on the Fort at Machebiguatus, MHSP 16 (1878) 111

1646

- 71 Richard Leader, Letters to John Winthrop, Jr, on Commercial Ventures (1646-1660) MHSP 2nd ser 3:192-97
- 72 Ezekiel Rogers, Letter to Elkanah Wales regarding Life in New England, EIHC 53:221-23
- 73 —Letter to William Sykes concerning Conditions in England and New England, EIHC 53:219-21

1647

- 74 Daniel Rogers, Letter to John Barrington on Financial Matters, EIHC 53:225-27
- 75 Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England Papers (1647-1652) NEHGR 36:62-70, 158-60, 371-76; 39:29-30, 179-82
- 76 William Bradford, A Dialogue (1648-1652) MHSP 11 (1869-1870) 407-64
- 77 Henry Dunster, Letter to Christianns Revins regarding Language Studies, MHSC 4th ser 1:251-54

1649

- 78 Ezekiel Cheever, An Account of His Trial before the New Haven Church, CHSC 1:22-51

1650

- 79 Anon, English Ballad about New England (ca. 1650) NEHGR 36:361-62
- 80 Peter Bulkley, Letter to Oliver Cromwell regarding Cromwell's Offer to Resettle New Englanders in Ireland, MHSC 4th ser 2:115-17
- 81 John Eliot, Description of New England (ca. 1650) MHSP 2nd ser 2:46-50
- 82 Harris Papers (1650-1711) RIHSC 10
- 83 Mather Papers (1650-1734) MHSC 4th ser 8

- 84 Ezekiel Cheever, Letter to Peter Prudden regarding Cheever's Troubles with the New Haven Church, NEHGR 41:66-68
- 85 John Eliot, Letter to Mr Winslow of London on the Indian Ministry, NEHGR 36:291-94
- 86 Richard Lobb, Letter to Edward Winslow concerning Contributions for the Propagation of the Gospel, NEHGR 37:392-93
- 87 Edward Winslow, Letter to William Lenthall regarding Charges Made by Captain William Bray, NEHGR 37:393-94
- 88 — A Disposition Dealing with the Controversy between Monsieur de la Tour and Sieur d'Aulney Over Acadia, NEHGR 82:137-38

## 1652

- 89 John Eliot, Letter to Mr Steele on the Indian Ministry, NEHGR 36:294-97
- 90 Edward Winslow, Letter concerning Supplies Sent to the Colonies, NEHGR 37:394-95

## 1653

- 91 Peter Bulkley, Simon and Timothy Willard, *et al*, An Agreement Made by the Town and Church of Concord to Financially Support Harvard College, CSMP 12:234
- 92 Henry Dunster, Letter to a Committee of the General Court regarding Harvard College, CSMP 3:419-24
- 93 Richard Onslow, Letter to Edward Winslow regarding Fund Raising, NEHGR 37:395-96
- 94 Sylvester Family Papers (1653-1683) MHSP 2nd ser 4:270-90
- 95 Edward Winslow, Letter concerning Harry Bedingfeld's Testimony before the Lord Chief Justice, NEHGR 37:396

## 1654

- 96 William Bradford, Verses, MHSP 11 (1869-70) 465-82
- 97 John Higginson, Letter to Thomas Thatcher on Conditions in New England, CHSC 3:318-20
- 98 Samuel Symonds, Declaration in a Case regarding Symonds' Two Purchased Servants Who Had Been Stolen from Ireland for Sale in America (ca. 1654) NEHGR 19:55-56
- 99 Roger Williams, Letters regarding Indian Affairs (1654-1677) RHSC 3:153-66

## 1655

- 100 Edward Breck, Letter to the Church at Rainforth concerning Quakers, CSMP 14:52-58
- 101 Roger Clap, Verses on the Deaths of Increase Nowell, John Endicot, Henry Withington (1655-1666) CSMP 8:225-33
- 102 Harvard College Laws, MHSP 14:207-15
- 103 Leverett Papers (1655-1677) MHSC 4th ser 2:221-25
- 104 Charles Morton, Records of the Association of Ministers at Cornwall, England and Charlestown, New England (1655-1659, 1690-1704) MHSP 17:254-81
- 105 New England Letters (1655-1675) NEHGR 38:278-384
- 106 Edward Roberts, Letter to Henry Dunster Requesting That He Accept a Pastorate in Dublin, Ireland, MHSC 4:218-19



1656

- 107 Anon, An Examination of the Quakers before the Court of Assistants, NEHGR 1:132-33
- 108 Hartford Church Controversy Papers (1656-1659) CHSC 2:51-125

1657

- 109 Thomas Browne, Letter to John Winthrop, Jr, concerning Employment as a College Instructor, MHSP 2nd ser 8:287-88
- 110 John Eliot, Letter to Major Atherton on the Settlement of an Indian Town at Ponkūpog, MHSC 2:9
- 111 — Letters regarding His Indian Ministry (1657-1681) MHSP 17:245-53
- 112 William Hooke, Letter to John Winthrop on Conditions in England, MHSC 3rd ser 1:181-84

1658

- 113 Nathaniel Morton, Letter to Thomas Prince about a Request for Dispositions concerning Quakers, MHSP 51:201-02
- 114 Michael Wigglesworth, Letter to the Church at Malden about Their Ecclesiastical Practices, MHSP 12 (1871-73) 93-98

1659

- 115 Edward Burrough, A Protest against Persecution, MHSP 42:371-76
- 116 William Dewsburg, A Protest against Persecution, MHSP 42:376-78
- 117 Christopher Holder, Letter to the Governor of Massachusetts Concerning Holder's Arrest, CSMP 10:342
- 118 — Letter to the People of Massachusetts regarding the Persecution of Quakers, CSMP 8:72-74
- 119 Francis Howgill, A Protest against Persecution, MHSP 42:363-71
- 120 William Lедdra, Address to the Government of Massachusetts on the Persecution of Quakers, MHSP 61:118-23
- 121 John Maidston, Letter to John Winthrop, Jr, on the English Civil War, MHSC 3rd ser 1:185-98
- 122 William Robinson, and Marmaduke Stevenson, A Protest against Persecution, MHSP 42:359-63
- 123 — Letter to George Whithead, George Fox, and George Rofe concerning the Quaker Cause, MHSC 4th ser 9:153-58
- 124 Richard Saltonstall, H. Ashurst, and William Hooke, Letter regarding the Progress of Education in New England, MHSP 3rd ser 1:305-07
- 125 Trustees of Harvard College, Proposal for the Enlargement of University Education in New England, MHSP 3rd ser 1:302-05
- 126 Roger Williams, Letter Defending Rhode Island's Purchase of the Qunnunnagut Land, RIHSC 27:85-92

- 127 John Wilson and John Norton, Letter to John Dury on His Attempt to Bring Ecclesiastical Peace, CSMP 38:20-21

- 128 John Winthrop, Jr, Letters to Samuel Hartlib (1659-1661) MHSP 72:36-40, 49-67

## 1660

- 129 Lion Gardener, Relation of the Pequot Warres, MHSC 3rd ser 3:136-60

- 130 Samuel Hartlib, Letter to John Winthrop, Jr, Covering Several Topics, MHSP 72:40-49

- 131 Samuel Maverick, A Brief Description of New England, MHSP 2nd ser 1:231-49; NEHGR 39:34-48

## 1661

- 132 Charles II, king of England, Letter to New England concerning the Forwarding of Quakers to England for Trial, MHSC 4th ser 9:159-60

- 133 Leonard Hoar, Letter to Josiah Flint Suggesting a Course of Study, MHSC 6:100-08

- 134 John Winthrop, Jr, Letters to and from the Founders of the Royal Society (1661-1671) MHSP 16 (1878) 212-51

## 1662

- 135 Danforth Papers (1662-1666) MHSC 2nd ser 8:47-112

- 136 Phinehas Pratt, A Declaration of the Affaires of the English People [That First] Inhabited New England (ca. 1662) MHSC 4th ser 4:476-87

- 137 Samuel Shattock, Letter on the Treatment of Quakers, MHSC 4th ser 9:160-62

- 138 Henry Smith, Letter to John Pyncheon on the Death of William Pyncheon, MHSP 11 (1869-70) 309-11

- 139 Michael Wigglesworth, God's Controversy with New England, MHSP 12 (1871-73) 83-93

- 140 John Winthrop Jr, Letter to John Tolcott regarding Payment of the Expenses for Obtaining the Connecticut Charter, CHSC 1:52-53

## 1663

- 141 Commissioners of the United Colonies in New England, Two Different Dedications of John Eliot's Indian Bible (ca. 1663) MHSC 7:222-28

- 142 John Endicott, Letter to John Owen Requesting Him to Accept the Pastorate of the Church of Christ in Boston, MHSC 2nd ser 2:265-66

- 143 Daniel Gookin, Letter to Ferdinando Gorges about the Selling of Maine to Massachusetts, NEHGR 13:349-50

- 144 Harvard College Theses [Latin with English translations] CSMP 5:328-33

- 145 Joseph Williamson, Original Notes relating to New England (ca. 1663) MHSP 10 (1867-69) 377-93

## 1664

- 146 Robert Boyle, Letter to John Winthrop, Jr, on the Presentation of the Copy of John Eliot's Indian Bible to Charles II, MHSP 5 (1860-62) 376-77

147 John Eliot, Letter to the United Colonies Commissioners on the Indian Ministry, NEHGR 9:131-33

148 Hezekiah Usher, Letter to the United Colonies Commissioners on Financial Matters Involved with Printing Eliot's Indian Bible and Other Indian Books, CSMP 5:390-92

1665

149 Margaret Heathcote, Letter to John Winthrop, Jr, on Life in the West Indies, MHSP 2nd ser 5:105-06

1667

150 Walter Barnesley, Letter to William Pitkin on Business Matters, NEHGR 34:194-95

1668

151 Anon [Thomas Danforth, Secretary of the Debate], Baptist Debate of April 14-15 1668, MHSP 76:108-33

1670

152 Anon, Verses on Alice Bradford, MHSC 4th ser 3:460-62

153 Thomas Danforth, Letter to Samuel Danforth Thanking Him for a Horse, MHSP 13:305-06

154 John Eliot, Letters to Robert Boyle on Eliot's Indian Ministry (1670-1688) MHSC 3:177-88

155 John Higginson, Letter to the County Court regarding Mr Ashbyes Operation of an Ordinary, EHC 8:89-90

156 Thomas Prince, Letter to Roger Williams on His Charge That Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut Planned to Oppress Rhode Island (ca. 1670) MHSC 6:203-05

157 Edward Taylor, Verses (1670-1723) CSMP 34:514-54

158 Roger Williams, Letter to Major Mason on the Relationship of Rhode Island to the Bay Colony, MHSC 1:275-83

1671

159 Charles Chauncy, John Eliot, John Oxenbridge, *et al*, Letter to Nineteen English Ministers on the Presidency of Harvard College, CSMP 11:338-40

160 John Eliot, Instruction to Two Indians to Attempt to Negotiate a Peace between the Missog-konnog Tribe and Massachusetts, MHSC 6:201-03

161 Daniel Gookin, Letter to Thomas Prince Denying That Gookin had Incited Philip to War, MHSC 6:198-99

162 Alexander Nowell, Joseph Browne, and John Richardson, Letter to John Winthrop, Jr, on Donations to Harvard, MHSP 2nd ser 4:265-66

163 William Peake, Letter to John Hull on the Payment of Debts, NEHGR 18:67

164 Thomas Prince, Letter to Awasuncks on Indian Actions towards the English, MHSC 5:197

165 ——— Letter to Goodman Cooke on Returning the Weapons of Some Friendly Indians, MHSC 5:196-97

166 — Letter to Daniel Gookin Assuring Him He Is Not Considered Guilty of Inciting Philip to War, MHSC 6:200-01

167 Edward Rawson, Letter to Thomas Prince Soliciting Aid for Harvard, MHSC 6:95-96

## 1672

168 Thomas Danforth, Letter to John Winthrop, Jr, regarding Harvard College, MHSP 13 (1873-75) 235-36

169 Thomas Foster, Abraham Seaner, Isaac Neuell, *et al*, Petition for Harvard to Reform Its Liberal Ways, NEHGR 35:122

170 Richard Saltonstall, Proposal to the Oversears of Harvard for the Selection of a Candidate for the Presidency, CSMP 8:196-98

171 Thomas Shepard, Letter to His Son at His Admission into Harvard, CSMP 14:192-98

172 Roger Williams, Letter to the United Colonies Commissioners on Quakers, MHSP 2nd ser 3:258-59

## 1673

173 Anon, Observations on New England about the Year 1673, MHSC 4:216-17

174 James Cudworth, Letter to Josiah Winslow Declining an Appointment to a Military Command, MHSC 6:80-83

175 John Eliot, Letter Giving an Account of the Indian Churches in New England, MHSC 10:124-29

## 1675

176 Anon, A Quaker Testimony, MHSP 42:378-81

177 John Allyn, Letter to John Winthrop, Jr, on Indian Warfare, MHSP 13 (1873-75) 234-35

178 James Cudworth, Letter to Josiah Winslow on a Military Operation against King Philip, MHSC 6:84-85

179 Daniel Denison, Letters to Military Commanders and Colony Officials on Indian Warfare (1675-1678) NEHGR 23:323-33

180 John Easton, Letter to Josiah Winslow on an Indian Custom of Recovering Lost Property, MHSC 6:86

181 John Eliot, Petition against Selling Indians for Slaves, NEHGR 6:297

182 John Freeman, Letter to Josiah Winslow on the Indian Raids against Taunton, MHSC 6:91

183 John Higginson, Letter to the County Court regarding the Excessive Number of Ordinaries in Salem, EHC 43:180-81

184 Indian War Papers (1675-1697) NEHGR 3:23-25, 163-65; 7:239; 10:35, 65

185 John Leverett, Letters on Actions Taken During King Philip's War, NEHGR 48:318-21

186 James Quanapaug, Report on Indian Activities, MHSC 6:205-08

187 Edward Rawson, Laws and Orders of Warr to Keepe Iniquity Out of the Camp [1675?] NEHGR 7:60

188 Nathaniel Thomas, Letter to Josiah Winslow on the Progress of an Expedition against King Philip, MHSC 6:86-87

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 191 Edmund Browne, Letter to John Leverett on Indian Affairs [1676?] NEHGR 7:268  
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 202 Daniel Gookin, An Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England, in the Years 1675, 1676, 1677 [with an Appendix of Illustrative Documents] AASTC 2:429-534  
 203 Samuel Whiting, Letter to Increase Mather Requesting Mather to Write a History of New England, NEHGR 2:198-99

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- 210 Daniel Gookin, Letter Relating to the Sending of Agents to England to Deal with the Jurisdictional Claims of Mr Mason, NEHGR 2:168-71

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- 221 Thomas Osburne, Letter to George Little on Osburne's Marriage and His Religious Sentiments, NEHGR 16:25-26
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- 226 Benjamin Thompson, Letter to Increase Mather Applying for a Job as Schoolmaster, MHSP 57:68

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- 228 James II, king of England, Exemplification of the Judgement for Vacating the Charter of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, MHSC 4th ser 2:246-78
- 229 Increase Mather, Letter to Jonathan Remington on the Trial of Samuel Gibson, CSMP 8:27-28

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- 230 Joseph Dudley, Code of Laws for Harvard, MHSP 14 (1875-76) 226-28
- 231 ——— Acceptance Speeches Delivered at the Time He Was Inaugurated as President of New England, MHSP 7 (1863-64) 487-90
- 232 Daniel Gookin, Letter to Governor Dudley on Edward Pratt's Dealings with Indians, NEHGR 18:178
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- 234 John Talcott, Letter to Edmund Andros Warning against the Evils of War, MHSC 3rd ser 3:167-69

## 1688

- 235 George Keith, Proclamation to Boston Urging Repentance and the Acceptance of True Religion, NEHGR 54:425-26

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- 236 Anon, A Narrative of Ye Miseries of New England by Reason of an Arbitrary Government Erected There, MHSC 4th ser 9:188-92
- 237 Simon Bradstreet, Letter on the Destruction of Schenectady by the French and Indians, NEHGR 2:150
- 238 Francis Brinley, A Brief Account of the Several Settlements and Governments in and about the Lands of the Narraganset Bay in New England [ca. 1689] MHSC 5:216-20
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- 244 Francis Foxcroft, Letters regarding Political and Personal Matters (1690, 1692), NEHGR 33:408-10; 34:80-81
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- 253 Increase Mather, Letter to Anthony Wood Supplying Biographical Information on New Englanders [ca. 1691] MHSP 2nd ser 8:344-48
- 254 Witchcraft Papers (1691-1702), NEHGR 70:65-68; MHSP 5 (1860-62) 32-37, 2nd ser 1:339-58; MHSC 2nd ser 3:221-25; EHC 9:86-90; CSMP 10:15-16

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- 256 Gershom Bulkeley, Will and Doom, CHSC 3:79-269
- 257 Mary Herrick, An Account of Her Experience with Witches, NEHGR 27:55
- 258 Higginson Family Letters (1692-1700), MHSC 3rd ser 7:197-222
- 259 Cotton Mather, Letters to Stephen Sewall on a Variety of Public Concerns (1692-1707), NEHGR 24:107-12
- 260 Seth Shove, Letter to Samuel Sewall on Shove's Illness, NEHGR 18:69-70
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267 Edward Taylor, *Letter to Samuel Sewall on Their Debate over Revelation* 16:12, MHSP 83:125-29

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- 268 John Higginson, *Letter to Nathaniel, His Son, on Public and Private Matters*, EIHC 43:182-86

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- 269 Benjamin Colman, *Letter to Lydia George Regarding Her Scruples about the Richness of Her Fashionable Apparel*, CSMP 8:247-50

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- 270 John Quick, *Letter to Cotton Mather regarding the Magnalia*, CSMP 26:301-07  
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- 272 Thomas Hinckley, *Verses on the Death of His Wife*, NEHGR 1:92-95  
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277 Cotton Mather, *Letter to Governor Dudley on His Failures as a Public Official*, MHSC 3:128-34  
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- 287 Anon, History of Narraganset County, MHSC 3rd ser 1:209-28  
 288 ——— Ballad Satirizing the Puritans, CSMP 26:362-66  
 289 ——— An Account of the Controversy over the Defacing of the Ensign at Salem in 1634, MHSP 42:268-80  
 290 ——— Non-Conformist's Oath, MHSP 2nd ser 3:188-90  
 291 ——— A Proper Ballad, called the "Sommons to New England" to the Tune of "The Townsman's Capp," MHSP 5 (1860-62) 101-03  
 292 William Bradford, A Descriptive and Historical Account of New England in Verse, MHSC 3:77-84  
 293 ——— Of Boston in New England, MHSC 3rd ser 7:27-28  
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- 301 Michael Wigglesworth, On the Wearing of Hair, NEHGR 1:368–71  
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 304 Adam Winthrop, A True Relation of the Life and Death of Mr John Daus, CSMP 27:188–90

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*Albion College*

ROBERT RAINWATER

## Ernest Haskell, 1876–1925

ERNEST HASKELL was well-known among a small group of American artists for whom etching was a major creative activity in the first quarter of this century. He counted among his friends and admirers the much better remembered Childe Hassam, John Marin, and John Taylor Arms. Now, one hundred years after his birth, Haskell is known only to a few collectors and specialists. His works are too significant in number and quality, however, to be allowed to be forgotten, and it is fitting to recall his dedication to his craft and the integrity of his art.

Ernest Haskell was born on June 30 1876 in West Woodstock, Connecticut. His career as an artist began in 1895 when the editor of the *New York Mail and Express* saw some of Haskell's sketches and published them. With the encouragement of this early success, Haskell moved to New York and began designing posters and illustrations for the *New York American*, the *New York Sunday Journal*, *Scribner's*, and other publications. The best of his poster designs from this period show a keen awareness of the stylistic characteristics of the leading poster artists at the end of the nineteenth century, as well as his own predilection for flattened compositional schemes modified with naturalistic details. At this time, Haskell also began tentative experiments with lithography.

In common with many American artists who felt the lack of contact with what was going on in important art circles, and dissatisfied with the progress of his own development, Haskell went to Paris for the first time in 1897. Besides painting and sketching in his Paris studio, he made a small series of color monotypes of Parisian life distinguished from his earlier works by their softly defined shapes set within casual pictorial structures. Though their subjects are reminiscent of the Parisian milieu depicted by Toulouse-Lautrec and Théophile Steinlen, these monotypes convey the sense of a disinterested observer rather than the satirical qualities of Toulouse-Lautrec or the biting criticism of Steinlen.

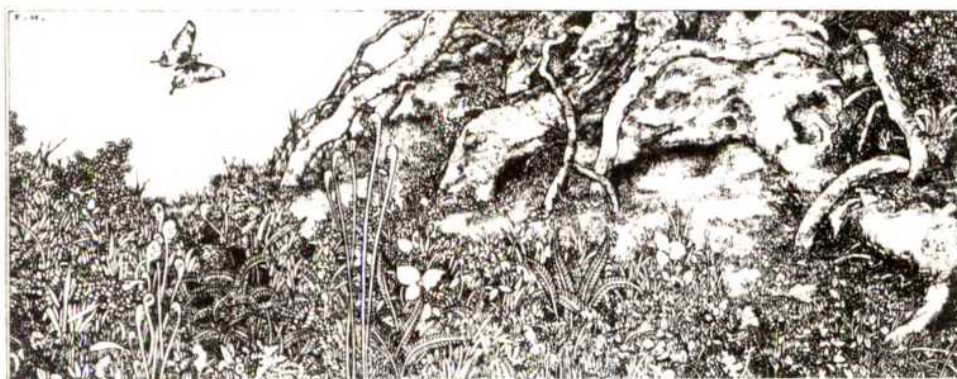
In 1898 Haskell returned to New York and began to receive attention largely for the theatrical posters and caricature-portraits he designed in the following few years. His work

was now discussed in the press for the first time, and his first one-man exhibition at Pratt Institute in Brooklyn was praised for the maturity and originality of the vision displayed; yet Haskell was still displeased with his work and returned to Paris for two years to improve his drawing skills by studying the works of the old masters.

Haskell's first etched plates were printed in Paris on a press recommended to him by Whistler. Sensing some of the weaknesses in the results, he set out on a ten-year period of rigid self-discipline to master the art of line. The outcome of his efforts was the *Paris Set* or *Twelve Etchings* series of 1910. Here Haskell demonstrated the technical confidence that would characterize his works throughout the remainder of his career.

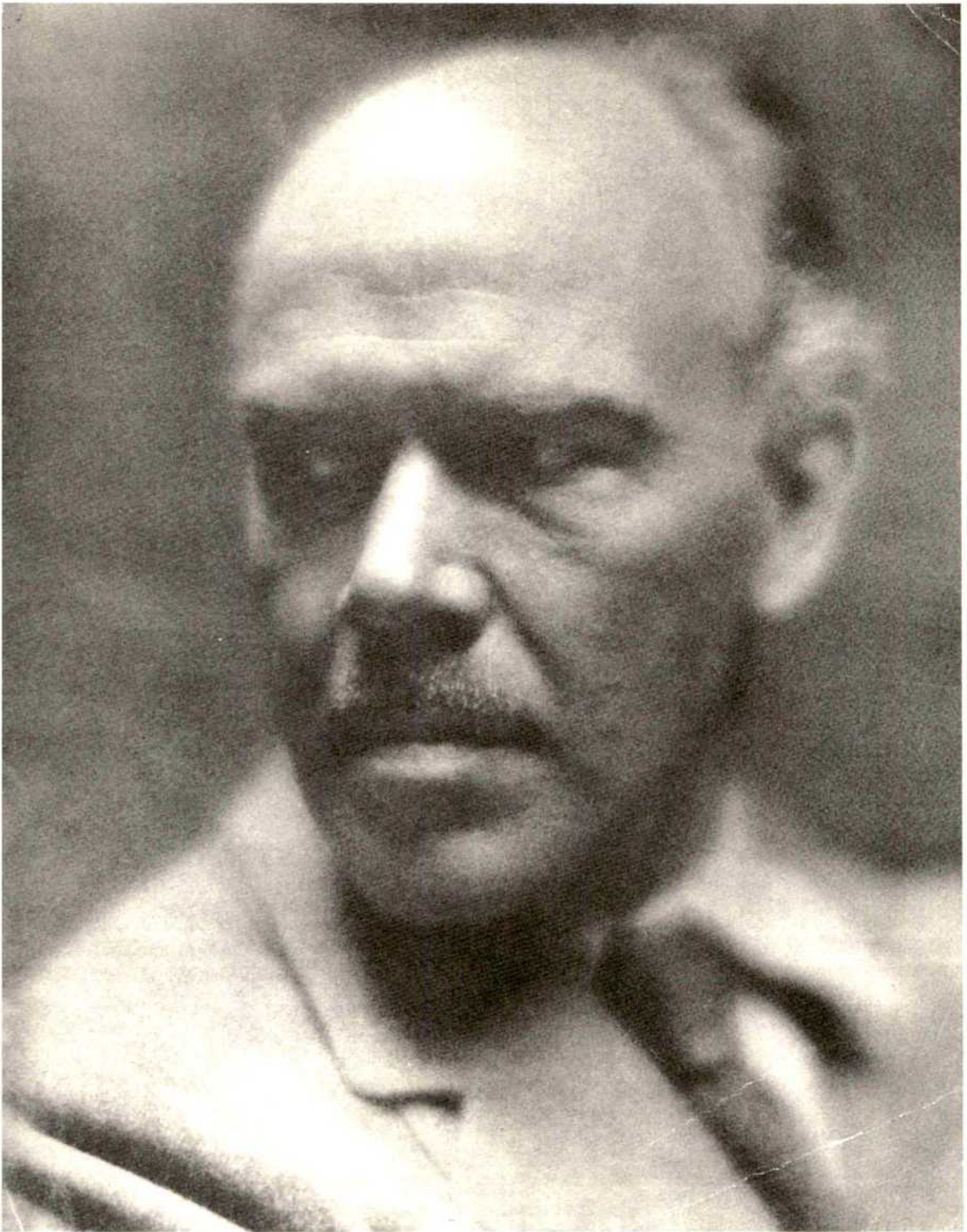
After his first marriage in 1903, Haskell moved to Maine where he established his permanent home and studio. Interrupted only by winter trips to New York to do commissioned portraits, he began to devote the greatest part of his artistic activity to etching. With painstaking discipline and with endless technical experimentation, Haskell created work after work remarkable for a direct compositional approach tempered by meticulously rendered details. These etchings—of the rugged Maine landscape and of trees and landscape subjects inspired by trips to Florida and California—represent Haskell's strongest achievements.

In 1974 and 1975, Mrs Josephine Haskell Aldridge, daughter of Ernest Haskell and of his second wife Emma Loveland Laumeister, presented two generous gifts of prints, drawings, posters, and illustration designs to the Prints Division of the Library, in memory of her brother, Ernest Haskell Jr. With the acquisition of these Haskell works, the Library's collection of early twentieth-century prints has been significantly enriched.



*Tree Roots and Butterfly*, undated pen and ink drawing (Check List, Drawings 15)





Photograph of Ernest Haskell by Dorothea Lange, 1920

Vol. III.

JULY, 1897.

No. 12.

# THE QUARTIER LATIN

Price,  
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Cover  
designed  
by  
Ernest  
Haskell.

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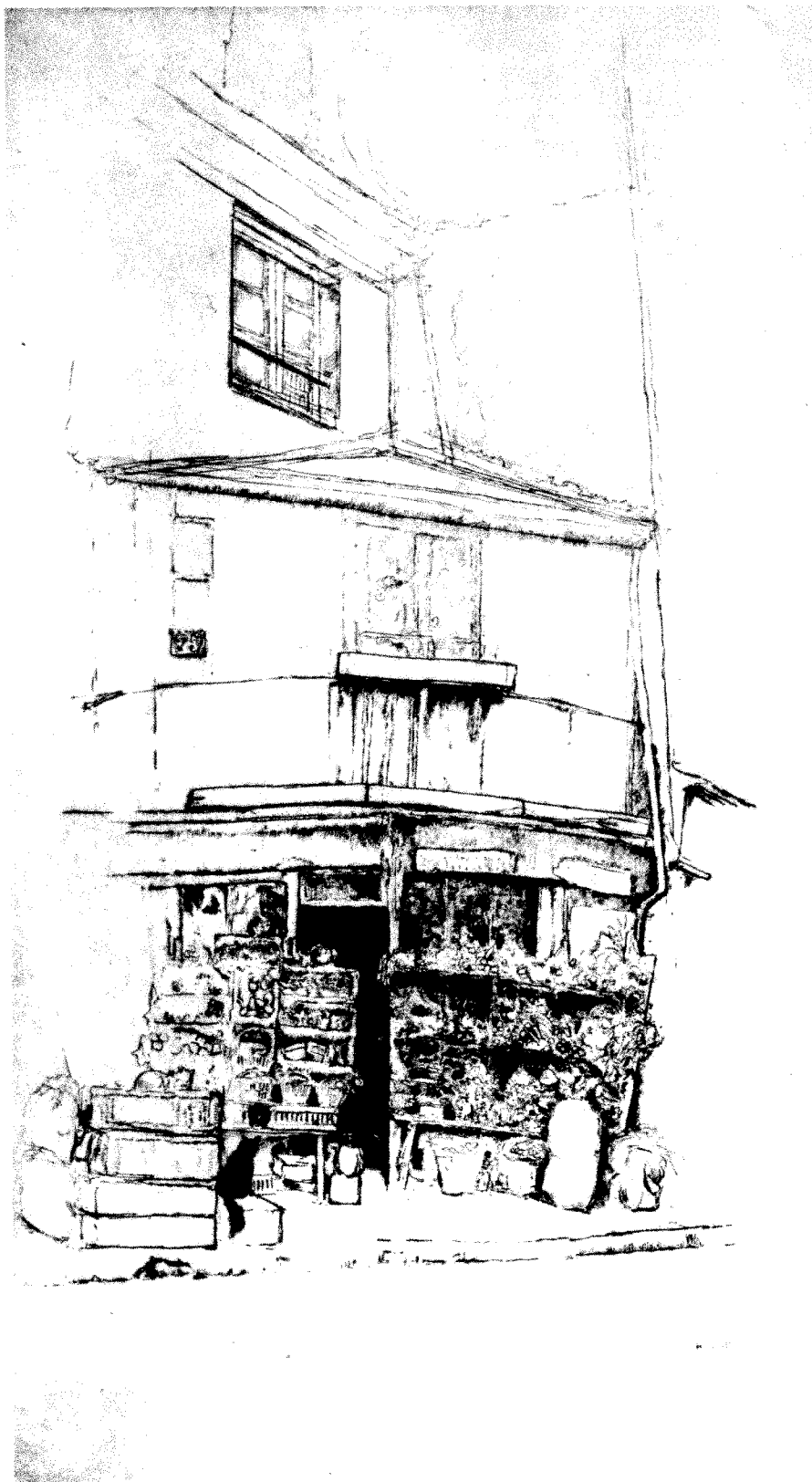
England, 6d. net.  
America, 10 cts.

The cover designed by Haskell for *The Quartier Latin*, July 1897 issue





*Tree*, etching, drypoint, and engraving, undated (Check List, Etchings 40)



*The Fruit Shop*, undated  
drypoint (Check List,  
Etchings 42)



Study for a bookplate, pen and  
ink sketch, ca. 1915 (Check List,  
Drawings 4)

*Ex Libris*  
Pierre Lorillard



The finished bookplate, etching with  
engraving, final state, ca. 1915  
(Check List, Etchings 37)

*Ex Libris*  
Pierre Lorillard.

# A CHECK LIST OF WORKS BY ERNEST HASKELL IN THE PRINTS DIVISION

The check list is organized as follows: 1) Etchings, 2) Monotypes, 3) Woodcut, 4) Lithographs, 5) Drawings, 6) Theatre Posters, and 7) Magazine Posters; and within each section works are arranged alphabetically by title. Entries marked with an asterisk were part of Mrs Aldridge's gifts to the Prints Division (see above).

The abbreviation "P-D" with a page number refers to Nathaniel Pousette-Dart *Ernest Haskell, His Life and Work* (NY: T. S. Hutson 1931). Technical information such as the dimensions of the work which appears in Pousette-Dart has not been repeated here. Height precedes width in the dimensions below. The monotypes, woodcut, lithographs, drawings, and posters are not in Pousette-Dart. Karen F. Beall in her *American Prints in the Library of Congress; A Catalog of the Collection* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Press for the Library of Congress 1970) includes another though less complete catalogue of Haskell's works (p 192-97).

## Etchings

- \*1 *Allequippa Poplars* [1913]; drypoint; P-D p 25
- \*2 *Alna Bower* [1924]; etching; P-D p 25
- 3 *Amelia* [1914]; flick engraving; P-D p 25
- \*4 *Antlers* [1915]; etching; P-D p 25
- 5 *Arabella* [1925]; flick engraving; P-D p 25; unfinished (probably Haskell's last work); five states
- \*6 *Autumnal Point* [19—]; drypoint; P-D p 25
- \*7 *Baby Sequoia* [1915]; etching with engraving; P-D p 25
- \*8 *Billowy Live Oaks* [1915]; drypoint; P-D p 26
- 9 *Birth [announcement] of Ernest Jr. and Josephine Haskell*; 1921; etching; P-D p 25
- 10 *Blind Gypsy*; 1910; etching with drypoint; P-D p 26
- \*11 *Boubier's Field* [1924]; etching; P-D p 26
- 12 *Boule Miche* (no 1 from the *Twelve Etchings* series); 1910; P-D p 36
- \*13 *Bridgeport Docks* [1918?]; drypoint; P-D p 26
- 14 *Brooklyn Etchers' Gift Plate* [1923]; etching; P-D p 26
- 15 *Café Artist* (no 11 from the *Twelve Etchings* series); 1910; P-D p 36
- \*16 *Caleb West* [1910]; etching; P-D p 26
- 17 *Carmen* (no 12 from the *Twelve Etchings* series); 1910
- \*18 *Celestial Balcony* [1915]; drypoint; P-D p 26
- \*19 *Chicken House* [1923]; etching; P-D p 27
- \*20 *Chinatown—Monterey* [1915]; drypoint; P-D p 27
- \*21 *Chinese Robe* [1912]; drypoint; P-D p 27
- 22 *The Concierge* (no 10 from the *Twelve Etchings* series); 1910; P-D p 37
- \*23 *Crystal Morning* [1924]; etching; P-D p 27
- \*24 *Cypress Bower* [1920]; mezzotint; P-D p 27
- \*25 *Cypress Wall* [1915]; drypoint; P-D p 27
- \*26 [Cypresses; 19—]; etching;  $2\frac{15}{16} \times 4\frac{9}{16}$ " ( $7.5 \times 11.6$  cm); not in Pousette-Dart
- \*27 *Darning* [1912]; drypoint; P-D p 27
- \*28 *Dromore Oaks* [19—]; etching; P-D p 28
- \*29 *Dryad's Parasol* [19—]; etching; P-D p 28
- \*30 *Drying the Net* [19—]; etching; P-D p 28
- \*31 *Dying White Oak* [19—]; drypoint; P-D p 28
- \*32 *Eagle Rock* [19—]; mezzotint; P-D p 28

- \*33 *Evening Shadows* [19—]; mezzotint; P-D p 28
- 34 *Ex Libris / Emma Eames* [ca. 1915]; etching; P-D p 37
- \*35 *Ex Libris / Grenville Kane* [ca. 1915]; etching; P-D p 37
- \*36 *Ex Libris / Maria DeWitt Jesup*; 1914; etching with engraving; P-D p 37
- \*37 *Ex Libris / Pierre Lorillard* [ca. 1915]; etching with engraving; P-D p 37; two states: an early state (3d?) before the letters, and final state
- \*38 *Ex Libris / Russell Perkins*; 1914; etching and engraving; P-D p 37
- \*39 *Fallen Centuries* [19—]; drypoint; P-D p 28
- \*40 *Fan Tree* [19—]; etching, drypoint, and engraving; P-D p 28
- \*41 *The Fire* [19—]; drypoint; P-D p 29
- \*42 *The Fruit Shop* [19—]; drypoint; P-D p 29
- 43 *Frying Potatoes* (no 7 from the *Twelve Etchings* series); 1910; P-D p 36
- \*44 *General Sherman* [1914–15]; etching and engraving; P-D p 29
- \*45 *Ghost Cypress, Florida* [19—]; drypoint; P-D p 29
- \*46 *He Maketh the Clouds His Chariot* [19—]; etching; P-D p 29
- \*47 *The Heavenly Hosts* [19—]; etching; P-D p 29
- \*48 *Hildegard* [19—]; drypoint; P-D p 30
- 49 *Hill of Dreams* [19—]; etching; P-D p 30
- \*50 *Hill of Oaks* [19—]; mezzotint; P-D p 30
- \*51 *The Hilltop* [19—]; flick engraving; P-D p 30; notation in pencil on reverse: "Edition of 30 copies"
- \*52 *The Hunchback* [19—]; etching; P-D p 30
- \*53 *Idle Cove* [19—]; etching; P-D p 30
- 54 *In the Luxembourg* (no 5 from the *Twelve Etchings* series); 1910; P-D p 36
- 55 *In Memoriam* [Elizabeth Louise Haskell 1918]; engraving; P-D p 30; inscription on plate: "A flame, a flower, and a singing bird"
- \*56 *Jim Gilliam's Fish House* [19—]; etching; P-D p 30
- \*57 *Last Stand* [19—]; drypoint; P-D p 30
- \*58 *Line of Beauty* [19—]; etching with engraving; P-D p 31
- 59 *Little Fruit Shop* (no 2 from the *Twelve Etchings* series); 1910; P-D p 36
- 60 *Marriage Announcement [of] Emma Loveland Laumeister and Ernest Haskell*; 1920; etching; P-D p 25
- \*61 *Mary Baker Eddy* [19—]; flick engraving; P-D p 31
- \*62 *The Mirror of the Goddess* [1920]; etching with engraving; P-D p 31
- \*63 *Monterey Harbor* [19—]; drypoint; P-D p 31
- \*64 *Negress and the Buzzards* [19—]; P-D p 31
- \*65 *Oak and Adobe* [19—]; etching; P-D p 32
- \*66 *Old Sea Dam* [19—]; etching; P-D p 32
- \*67 *Orindo Rancho* [19—]; etching; P-D p 32
- \*68 *Phippsburg* [19—]; etching; P-D p 32
- \*69 *Pine Arch* [19—]; etching and drypoint; P-D p 32
- \*70 *Pines and Pinnacles* [19—]; drypoint; P-D p 32
- \*71 *Pines and White Sand* [19—]; etching; P-D p 33
- \*72 *Point Lobos Cypress* [19—]; drypoint; P-D p 33
- 73 *The Ragpicker's Child* (no 9 from the *Twelve Etchings* series); 1910; P-D p 37
- \*74 *Retrospection* [ca. 1914]; drypoint; P-D p 33
- 75 *Ribbon Vendor* (no 6 from the *Twelve Etchings* series); 1910; P-D p 37

- \*76 *Ruby* [19—]; drypoint; P-D p 33  
 \*77 *Saraband* [19—]; etching; P-D p 34  
 \*78 *The School Teacher* [19—]; drypoint; P-D p 34  
 \*79 *Season's Greetings from the Officers & Directors of the Bank of the Manhattan Company* [1922]; etching; P-D p 37  
 80 *The Sentinels of North Creek* [1924]; etching; P-D p 34; published by *The New Republic* as one of "Six American Etchings" (series 1)  
 81 *Shelling Peas* (no 3 from the *Twelve Etchings* series); 1910; P-D p 37  
 \*82 *Shipbuilding* [19—]; drypoint; P-D p 34  
 \*83 *Spirit of the Seminole* [19—]; drypoint; P-D p 34  
 \*84 *Stevenson's House, Monterey, California* [19—]; etching with engraving; P-D p 34  
 \*85 *The Sylvan Sea* [19—]; etching; P-D p 34  
 \*86 *Three Birches* [19—]; etching; P-D p 35  
 \*87 *Thunder Clouds* [19—]; drypoint; P-D p 35  
 \*88 *Tidal Pathway* [19—]; etching; P-D p 35  
 89 *The Tired Hunter* [19—]; etching; P-D p 35  
 \*90 *Torse of the Witch* [19—]; drypoint; P-D p 35  
 \*91 *To the Southward, Ragged Island, Me.* [19—]; drypoint; P-D p 35  
 \*92 *Wildcat Canyon* [19—]; etching with engraving; P-D p 36  
 \*93 *Willows and Water* [19—]; etching; P-D p 36  
 \*94 *Winnegance Willows* [19—]; etching; P-D p 36

#### Monotypes

- \*1 [Three men and a woman seated around a table, another woman looks on at

right, 189—?]; monotype in brown, black, green, ochre, and red; unsigned; trimmed almost to plate mark: sheet size  $5\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ " (13.1 × 18.1 cm)

- \*2 *Cypress* [19—]; monotype in blackish-brown; unsigned; trimmed inside plate mark: sheet size  $12\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{3}{8}$ " (30.8 × 21.3 cm)

#### Woodcut

- \*1 *The Hill of Promise* [1922?]; woodcut;  $11\frac{1}{4} \times 12$ " (29.3 × 30.5 cm)

#### Lithographs

- \*1 *The Crest of the Hill*; lithograph; image size  $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$ " (19.0 × 12.7 cm); paper size  $11\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{7}{8}$ " (30.3 × 22.5 cm); signed in pencil, lower right: "Ernest Haskell"; Haskell's blindstamp in lower right  
 2 *The Doctor* [19—]; lithograph; paper size  $12\frac{7}{8} \times 8\frac{3}{16}$ " (32.7 × 20.8 cm); signature and title on stone; signed in pencil, lower right: "Ernest Haskell"; Haskell's blindstamp in lower right center  
 \*3 *The Edge of the Wood* [1909]; lithograph; image size  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{16}$ " (19.0 × 12.8 cm); paper size  $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ " (27.3 × 20.1 cm); signed on stone in upper left corner: "Haskell / 1909"  
 4 *Lady with Bonnet*; lithograph; image size  $4\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ " (12.1 × 11.7 cm); Haskell's monogram and "PARIS" on stone in upper right  
 5 *Madame Bertha Kalish*; lithograph; paper size  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ " (26.0 × 20.0 cm); signed on stone, lower right: "Haskell"; signed in pencil, lower right: "Haskell"

- 6 *Maude Adams* (profile to right); lithograph; paper size  $10\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ " (26.4 × 21.0 cm); signed on stone: "Haskell"; signed in pencil, lower right: "Ernest Haskell"; Haskell's blindstamp in lower right
- 7 *Maude Adams as Juliet*; lithograph; paper size  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ " (21.0 × 14.0 cm); Haskell's monogram in stone, lower right
- 8 *Maude Adams Wearing a Large Hat*; lithograph; paper size  $11 \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ " (28.0 × 20.0 cm); signed in pencil, lower right: "Ernest Haskell"; Haskell's monogram stamped in upper right and on stone in lower right; Haskell's blindstamp in lower right
- 9 *Mike Whelan* [1909]; lithograph; paper size  $12\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{7}{8}$ " (32.5 × 22.8 cm); on stone in lower left: "Mike Whelan from Ernest Haskell / 1909"; Haskell's blindstamp in lower left
- \*10 *Pamela*; lithograph; paper size  $9\frac{7}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ " (25.3 × 16.5 cm); signed in pencil, lower right: "Ernest Haskell"; Haskell's blindstamp in lower left
- \*11 *Petite Adelaide*; lithograph; paper size  $10 \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ " (25.3 × 17.3 cm); signed in pencil, lower right: "Ernest Haskell"
- 12 *The Rose* (Rose Trelawney in *Trelawney of the Wells*); lithograph; paper size  $10 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ " (25.5 × 15.9 cm); signed in pencil, lower right: "Ernest Haskell"
- 13 *The Ruined Pier, Staten Island* [1903]; lithograph; paper size  $12\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{16}$ " (31.2 × 23.0 cm); signed in pencil, lower left: "To Mr. Keppel from Ernest Haskell" (Frederick Keppel Memorial Collection)
- 14 Self-portrait [1898]; lithograph on Japan

paper laid down on heavier paper;  $11\frac{7}{8} \times 7$ " (30.2 × 17.8 cm); signed and dated in pencil, lower right: "Ernest Haskell / 1898"; Haskell's monogram on stone, left center; pencil notation in lower margin: "*à vingt deux ans*"

### Drawings

- \*1 Caricature-portrait of Charles H. Parkhurst for the *New York Journal* [1900]; pen and ink drawing on heavy board;  $10\frac{9}{16} \times 7\frac{3}{16}$ " (26.9 × 18.3 cm); signed: "ERNEST HASKELL / 1900"
- \*2 Caricature-portrait of Heinrich Conried, Manager of the Metropolitan Opera [1903]; charcoal and crayon drawing, with pen and ink on heavy board;  $10\frac{5}{8} \times 7\frac{3}{16}$ " (27.0 × 18.3 cm); signed: "ERNEST HASKELL / 1903"
- \*3 *Convère* [1899]; pencil drawing with traces of brownish crayon;  $9\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$ " (25.1 × 18.7 cm); signed in green pencil (?) in upper right: "ERNEST HASKELL / 1899"; title in lower left; Haskell's blindstamp in lower left
- \*4 *Ex Libris / Pierre Lorillard* (sic) [ca. 1915]; pen and ink sketch (study for etched bookplate);  $4\frac{7}{16} \times 3$ " (11.2 × 7.7 cm)
- \*5 *Ex Libris / Rmald Warrenrath* (?) [19—]; pen and ink with pencil sketch;  $3\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$ " (9.8 × 6.0 cm)
- \*6 Fanciful coat of arms [1904]; pen and ink drawing on board;  $10\frac{5}{8} \times 7\frac{3}{16}$ " (27.1 × 18.3 cm)
- 7 Faun [19—]; wash drawing heightened with white tempera and black crayon;  $17\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ " (45.1 × 13.0 cm); signed with initials "E.H." in lower left
- \*8 *A Forest Scene* [1903]; pen and ink drawing;  $9 \times 8\frac{15}{16}$ " (22.9 × 22.7 cm); signed

- in upper left: "ERNEST HASKELL / 1903"
- \*9 Landscape sketch [19—]; reddish-brown conté crayon;  $5\frac{1}{16} \times 6\frac{7}{8}$ " (12.9 × 17.5 cm); pencil sketch of a woman on verso
- \*10 [Man and woman in 19th-century costume] [19—]; pen and ink drawing with pencil traces on heavy board;  $6 \times 6$ " (15.2 × 15.2 cm)
- \*11 *Margot* [1898]; pencil drawing with watercolor and splattering;  $10\frac{3}{16} \times 8\frac{1}{8}$ " (25.9 × 20.7 cm); signed with monogram and in pencil in lower right: "Haskell 1898 / Paris"
- \*12 Portrait of a woman; conté crayon and pencil drawing, with touches of brownish crayon;  $9\frac{13}{16} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$ " (25.0 × 18.8 cm); Haskell's blindstamp in lower left center
- \*13 [Seated woman wearing a large fur collar] [189—?]; crayon drawing;  $8\frac{8}{16} \times 6\frac{9}{16}$ " (21.1 × 16.7 cm)
- \*14 Study of clouds; pen and ink drawing in stipple technique on heavy board;  $5\frac{1}{16} \times 5\frac{1}{16}$ " (12.8 × 12.8 cm); signed with initials "E.H." in lower left
- \*15 *Tree Roots and Butterfly*; pen and ink drawing on board;  $2 \times 5\frac{1}{16}$ " (5.0 × 12.8 cm)
- \*16 [Woman wearing a large hat] [189—?]; pencil sketch;  $7\frac{1}{16} \times 5\frac{5}{16}$ " (17.9 × 13.6 cm); Haskell's blindstamp and monogram in lower right; sketch of a woman on verso
- (77.1 × 58.8 cm); printed in upper right center: "ERNEST HASKELL"
- 3 *Mrs. Fiske* (head, profile to right); 1900;  $32\frac{3}{16} \times 22$ " (81.8 × 56.0 cm); printed in lower right: "Drawn by Ernest Haskell / 1900"
- 4 *Mrs. Fiske*; 1901;  $83 \times 39\frac{3}{4}$ " (211.0 × 100.1 cm); printed in lower left: "ERNEST HASKELL"; three-sheet poster
- 5 *Mrs. Fiske [as] Becky Sharp*; 1899;  $21\frac{18}{16} \times 15$ " (55.8 × 38.1 cm); printed at top right: "Ernest Haskell / 1899"
- 6 *Mrs. Fiske [as] Mary of Magdala*; 1903;  $31\frac{3}{4} \times 21\frac{3}{16}$ " (80.7 × 53.8 cm); printed in pictorial area, lower right: "ERNEST HASKELL"
- 7 *Mrs. Leslie Carter*; 1902;  $27\frac{18}{16} \times 20\frac{7}{8}$ " (70.9 × 53.0 cm); printed in lower right: "ERNEST HASKELL / 1902"

#### Magazine Posters

- 1 *The New York Sunday Journal / Christmas . . .* [Dec 1896] (A young woman holding a platter of Christmas pudding);  $21\frac{1}{16} \times 14\frac{1}{8}$ " (53.4 × 36.0 cm); printed in lower left below pictorial area: "ERNEST HASKELL '96"
- 2 *The New York Sunday Journal . . .* [1896] (A young woman in leaf costume standing on a tree stump);  $20\frac{9}{16} \times 15$ " (52.3 × 38.2 cm); printed in lower left: "ERNEST HASKELL / 96 after A. Shaw"
- 3 *The New York Sunday Journal . . .* [Oct 1896] (A young woman with blond hair wearing a mask and holding a copy of the *New York Journal*);  $21\frac{1}{16} \times 15$ " (53.5 × 38.0 cm); printed in lower center: "Ernest Haskell / 96"
- 4 *The New York Sunday Journal . . .* [Sept ? 1896] (A young woman in fancy

#### Theatre Posters

- 1 *Blanche Walsh*; 1905;  $31\frac{1}{8} \times 20\frac{5}{8}$ " (80.0 × 52.4 cm); printed signature: "Ernest Haskell"
- \*2 *Grace George* [1907];  $30\frac{3}{8} \times 23\frac{1}{8}$ "



- dress playing a bass drum);  $21\frac{1}{8} \times 14\frac{15}{16}$ " (53.7 × 38.0 cm); Haskell's signature printed in lower left: "Ernest Haskell / 96"
- 5 *The New York Sunday World* . . . [1895] (A young woman at the wheel of a ship);  $19\frac{5}{16} \times 12$ " (49.0 × 30.4 cm); printed in lower left of pictorial area: "E. HASKELL / 95"
- 6 *The New York Sunday World. Sunday Aug 25* [1895] (A young woman with windblown hair and dress standing on a beach);  $18\frac{7}{8} \times 11\frac{7}{8}$ " (47.9 × 30.1 cm); printed in lower pictorial area: "E. Haskell / 95"
- 7 *Scribner's for June* . . . [1902] (silhouette of a woman wearing a plumed hat against a landscape, within an oval-shaped pictorial area);  $22 \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ " (56.0 × 36.9 cm); printed within pictorial area: "ERNEST HASKELL / 1902"
- 8 *Senator Hoar's Reminiscences Begin in the February Scribner's* . . . [1899] (portrait of Hoar at right);  $21\frac{1}{8} \times 14$ " (54.6 × 35.5 cm); printed within pictorial area: "ERNEST HASKELL / 1899"
- 9 *The Sunday Journal* . . . [Apr 1896] (A girl in red dress and cape playing two trumpets);  $21 \times 14\frac{11}{16}$ " (53.4 × 37.3 cm); printed in lower left: "Liebler & Maass Lith. / .EH. / 96"
- 10 *The Sunday Journal* . . . [1896] (A woman with blond hair wearing a red dress);  $20\frac{15}{16} \times 15\frac{1}{8}$ " (53.3 × 38.4 cm); printed in lower right of pictorial area: "Liebler & Maass Lith. / .EH. / 96"
- 11 *The Sunday Journal* . . . [Mar 22 1896] (A woman wearing a blue dress with white flowers is reading a copy of the *Journal*);  $21\frac{1}{4} \times 14\frac{3}{4}$ " (54.0 × 37.5 cm); printed in lower right of pictorial area: "E.H.96"
- 12 *The Sunday Journal* . . . [Sept 1896] (An outdoor cafe scene against a night sky);  $15\frac{1}{16} \times 21\frac{1}{8}$ " (38.3 × 53.6 cm); printed at bottom of pictorial area: "E HASKELL 96"
- 13 *The Sunday World / July 19th* . . . [1896] (A woman in striped dress and yellow hat dancing with a satyr);  $18\frac{1}{8} \times 12\frac{1}{16}$ " (46.4 × 30.6 cm); printed in pictorial area at left: "E.H.96"
- 14 *Truth / Xmas '96* (A young woman skier in gray and orange costume);  $20 \times 14$ " (50.9 × 35.5 cm); printed in pictorial area at left: "ERNEST HASKELL '96"

ELIZABETH HEINE

## Leonard Woolf: “Three Jews” and Other Fiction

I WAS VERY PLEASED, not long ago, to discover that the Berg Collection of The New York Public Library had acquired a copy of *Two Stories* (1917), the first publication of Leonard and Virginia Woolf's Hogarth Press. The two stories in the pamphlet—soft-bound in a decorative, red-starred cover, anonymously illustrated by four of Carrington's woodcuts—are Virginia Woolf's “The Mark on the Wall” and Leonard Woolf's “Three Jews.”<sup>1</sup> “The Mark on the Wall” has been reprinted often and is easily available, but “Three Jews” has appeared only in this rather rare publication.

As a story, “Three Jews” is oddly ironic, perhaps deservedly lost to sight. A rather plain-spoken first-person narrator, insistently repetitive of some of his observations, opens the story. It is a beautiful day, spring in London, and he goes to Kensington Gardens in search of openness and nature. What he finds is an English apple-blossom spring accentuated by some blooming tropical trees, and an English crowd who seem to him very subdued, very orderly, not at all tropical or flamboyant. As he sits in a crowded tea area observing the English he sees a man looking for a seat. He immediately types the man by his physical characteristics—he's a Jew. In return, the man recognizes him, a fellow Jew, and asks if he may share the table. He is welcome; they talk. They discuss the English spring and their sense of belonging while not belonging. What does it mean to be a Jew in England? To provide an answer, the second Jew tells a story of a third.

This story, told by the second, flamboyant, tropical Jew as they sit among the orderly tea drinkers, concerns a Jewish gravekeeper he met when he went to the cemetery to mourn his wife on the anniversary of her November death. This second speaker is not actually verbose but a natural storyteller who describes and digresses and shows his own hopeful character

1 For Leonard Woolf's own description, see his *Beginning Again: An Autobiography of the Years 1911 to 1918* (NY: Harcourt 1964) 235–37.

Dora Carrington's woodcut illustration to Leonard Woolf's story "Three Jews," from *Two Stories* (London: The Hogarth Press 1917)—Berg Collection, reproduced courtesy of Mr Noel Carrington and The Hogarth Press



as he talks. On that cold November day in the cemetery the storyteller tipped the gravekeeper, a Jew rather down on his luck. The gravekeeper explained that he'd seen better days, but that he was pleased to have a home for his wife and two boys and that he did his best at his job. A year later the two meet again. The storyteller has brought his new wife; the gravekeeper's wife has died. He accepts his fate and takes comfort in the growing success of his two boys; the storyteller tips him again. These two Jews meet for a third time after another year. This time the second Jew has brought both his wife and his boy, now old enough to visit his mother's grave. The third Jew looks worse than ever. Asked about his boys, he admits to one only. He has disowned his older son because he has married, behind his father's back, their Christian servant girl. Without further comment from the first Jew, the story ends with the words of the other two Jews:

I know my poor mother, God rest her soul, used to say: "My son," she said, "if you come to me and say you want to marry a good girl, a Jewess, I don't care whether she hasn't a chemise to her back, I'll welcome her—but if you marry a Christian, if she's as rich as Solomon, I've done with you—don't you ever dare to come into my house again." Vell, I don't go as far as that, though I understand it. Times change: I might have received his wife, even though she was a Goy. But a servant girl who washed my dishes! I couldn't do it. One must have some dignity."

He stood there upright, stern, noble: a battered scarred old rock, but immovable under his seedy black coat. I couldn't offer him a shilling; I shook his hand, and left him brooding over his son and his graves.<sup>2</sup>

I find this ending abrupt and ironic rather than totally incomplete, but the failure of the first narrator to return leaves me with a wider area of ironic interpretation than I like. I

2. *Two Stories* (Richmond: Hogarth 1917) 18. Vagaries of punctuation should be attributed to the printers. Further quotations are cited within parentheses.

take it, and I may be wrong, that the third Jew disowns his son for reasons that are at least as British as Jewish. A Christian he might have accepted, he says, but a servant-girl he cannot. The second Jew has been quite clear about the gradual loss of Jewish faith and practices in England, but remains proud that the Jewish "spirit" has survived. The gravekeeper looks thoroughly worn down—he has only his "dignity" to keep him strong—but this is noble to the second Jew, who shakes his hand now, instead of tipping him. (I take this to be another rather British act.) I imagine that the first Jew identifies and perhaps approves of the Jewishness of both the other two in their respect for pride and their patriarchal behavior, but I cannot help thinking that he, like the second, is aware of some acclimatizing, some adjustment of the Jewish value sense to the class consciousness of the sober British crowd. The gravekeeper's November story of pride and sorrow and death is told, after all, in the Kensington Garden setting of English apple-blossom and tea. On the other hand, it is perfectly possible to read the story as a straightforward presentation of this somber sense of pride as the distinguishing Jewish characteristic that dominates in each generation no matter what immediate set of values is adopted.

I wish very much that the initial narrator had reappeared in some definitive way. As it is, Virginia Woolf's story is the one with the definitive ending. One of her first experiments in impressionism—more essay than story—"The Mark on the Wall" ends with the appearance of a rather plain-spoken, cynical, highly objective character:

Some one is standing over me and saying—

"I'm going out to buy a newspaper."

"Yes?"

"Though it's no good, buying newspapers. . . . Nothing ever happens. Curse this war! God damn this war! . . . All the same, I don't see why we should have a snail on our wall".

Ah, the mark on the wall! For it was a snail. (p 30-31)

Oddly, the two stories together, though so very different in method and substance, give a greater sense of narrative completeness than either alone. "Three Jews" is printed as the first of the pair; it is as though the initial plain-spoken narrator finally reappears at the end of the pamphlet, breaking in on the reverie of the second story with his objective observation of the way things actually are, whatever one might like to think. One is tempted to wonder whether to take the real-life situation into account in interpretation, whether each story in fact depends on the other and on the Woolf marriage.

Virginia Woolf is clearly the greater artist, yet it is interesting to consider what English literature lost as Leonard Woolf turned more and more to increasingly practical prose. Some of his later essays, like the beast fable *Fear and Politics* (1924), use fictional techniques in

their satire, and he did write a play published in 1936, *The Hotel*, which is thoroughly modern in its absurdist portrayal of man's crazy ways of waging war. His other fiction, most of it earlier than "Three Jews," shows the same clear-minded, objective, passionately cynical judgment of human values and the power of conventions that I use as the basis of my interpretation of the irony in "Three Jews." The *Stories of the East* (1921) and *The Village in the Jungle* (1913) are most like "Three Jews" in form; *The Wise Virgins* (1914) resembles the story most in substance.

In regard to this substance it may help to quote Leonard Woolf's comments on his Jewish heritage. These occur in *Sowing*, the first volume of his remarkable autobiography. I would like to quote the first five pages as a fascinating expression of the world view of this kindly, acerbic man, but the following is most useful here:

I have always felt in my bones and brain and heart English and, more narrowly, a Londoner, but with a nostalgic love of the city and civilization of ancient Athens. Yet my genes and chromosomes are neither Anglo-Saxon nor Ionian. When my Rodmell neighbours' forefathers were herding swine on the plains of eastern Europe and the Athenians were building the Acropolis, my Semitic ancestors, with the days of their national greatness, such as it was, already behind them, were in Persia or Palestine. And they were already prisoners of war, displaced persons, refugees, having begun that unending pilgrimage as the world's official fugitives and scapegoats which has brought one of their descendants to live, and probably die, Parish Clerk of Rodmell in the County of Sussex.<sup>3</sup>

There is a further comment on loyalty toward the end of the volume that has the same sense of pessimistic truth:

One loves and hates one's family just as—one knows and they know—one is loved and hated by them. Most people are both proud and ashamed of their families and nearly all Jews are both proud and ashamed of being Jews. There is therefore always a bitterness and ambivalence in these loyalties. (p 213)

Clearly there are reasons for both the irony and pride in "Three Jews." It is perhaps remarkable that Woolf says this much. Taciturn about matters concerning himself and his wife that he clearly decided were private, he says even less about his fiction. The only comment in his autobiography about his second novel, *The Wise Virgins*, is that it "was published simultaneously with the outbreak of the war. The war killed it dead and my total earnings from it were £20."<sup>4</sup>

Subtitled "A Story of Words, Opinions, and a Few Emotions," it tells of the romantic

3 *Sowing: An Autobiography of the Years 1880–1904* (NY: Harcourt 1960) 15.

4 *Beginning Again*, p 91.

difficulties of a young Jewish man in London suburbia. I guarantee its irony. The last page somehow caught my eye before I had read the novel. I saw the concluding words

"Dearest," she whispered.

He looked down at her face so close to him, and, shutting his eyes, kissed her.<sup>5</sup>

and thought I was in for some sort of sentimental romance. Not so—she is the wrong one, whom he has married out of a strong sense of conventional honor. He is closing his eyes in failure and despair.

What has happened is that the Jewish Davis family has moved into suburbia near the Christian Garland family. The Garlands are a widow and four daughters, none of them married and only two still in their twenties. The Davis parents have a son and a daughter, both in their twenties, the son an artist. Gwen Garland (by some authorial oversight she is twenty-four at the start of the novel and twenty-two at the end) is attracted to the son, Harry Davis. He is an abrupt young man who can talk only about things that really concern people; he is very much attracted to another art student, Camilla Lawrence. There is a continual counterpoint between the vacuous, marriage-centered suburban life and the intellectual free thinking of the very "Bloomsbury" Lawrences. Harry clearly values the intellectual realm more highly and is not really torn between the two at all, only thinking that in both worlds people actually do very little. In an explosive scene with another intellectual young man enamored of Camilla he specifically labels this ethical concern for meaningful action as Jewish. Harry is aware and proud of his Jewishness, his sense that moral judgments are not to be toyed with, at the same time as the omniscient narrator is showing the range of the other characters' awareness, from simple-minded bigotry on the part of Gwen's next older sister to disinterest on the part of Camilla. But it is clear that Harry is handicapped as much by his personality as by his race, for there are no important barriers of prejudice.

Thinking more and more seriously of Camilla, Harry feels kindly toward Gwen's restless ignorance, lends her books of Ibsen and Dostoevsky, and tells her that physical love is one of the great things, the things that really matter. Camilla, very different from Gwen, is gifted with a delightful power of imaginative flight and an unwillingness to cope with the romantic results of her own unconventional charm that make her seem rather like Virginia Woolf. (Camilla's sister Katherine resembles descriptions of Vanessa, Virginia's sister.) Harry proposes to Camilla, prompted partly because she has held his hand in an unconventionally friendly way, and is put off. In his despair and in the circumstances of a joint family

5 *The Wise Virgins* (London: Edward Arnold 1914) 336

holiday he speaks to Gwen of his feelings and of his desire to escape to the Continent. She, by this time very much in love, tells him she wants to go with him whether or not he loves her. He puts her off but then she, in dismay and idealistic passion, goes to his bed and irresistibly offers herself. The latter part of the book describes the reactions of the mothers and the girls as Harry does the conventional, honorable thing by marrying Gwen. Of course, it is after his honorable lies to Gwen, telling her he loves her, that Camilla writes suggesting they keep on with their friendship. Harry is in agony but still conventionally honorable. The most violent thing he does is to tell the Bloomsbury intellectuals that they are fools not to realize what effects can occur when the young and gullible, like Gwen, actually put free-thinking "literary" ideas into action. The title seems to come from Harry's sense that the virgins of the story are wise to keep out of the others' passionate and mindless errors; the figures of the Old Testament as well as the New are present in the marriage ceremony.

The novel is more satisfactory in its irony than "Three Jews," I think. But in this case again, my dissatisfaction would seem to have been planned by the author. It is related to the way Leonard Woolf insists that we must consider the sociological realities of the power of conventions, especially as they relate to the unrealistic ideals of both the intellectual avant-garde and middle-class girls raised on romances. He refuses me my ideal romantic ending by making Gwen, the less interesting person, the heroic overreacher who gets what she wants. Gwen does what I would prefer Harry to do. It seems to me that the author has thus exploited the romantic form for his ironic effect both cleverly and effectively. Among the other strengths of the novel is a passage early in the book in which Woolf, as omniscient author, tells us that he cannot, because of novelistic conventions, write what Harry is thinking. The Joycean possibility of throwing aside the conventional restraints of both fiction and sexual mores is not yet open, but clearly under consideration. After Harry's night with Gwen he strides into the dawn full of delight in his maleness, a joy of a D. H. Lawrence sort that lasts only until a sense of social responsibility crashes down upon him. It would seem to be typical of Leonard Woolf's judgment that Harry cannot escape the conventions of his family's suburban culture and run off to pursue his art. He can no longer paint but instead, abhorring his own error, numbs himself to settle into the mindless suburban life. *The Wise Virgins* thus expresses a thoroughly depressing and recognizably modern view of life.

There is also in *The Wise Virgins* a kind of sociological observation and objective awareness of cultural conflict that, if inborn, seems to have matured during Woolf's time as a colonial administrator in Ceylon. His experiences there and his growing sense that he could not continue with his job of imposing the Empire on the colonies is recorded in *Growing* (1961), his second autobiographical volume. His *Diaries in Ceylon* (1962) are part of the

historical record of the time and present the factual background of his first novel, *The Village in the Jungle*. This unjustly neglected work is the kind of minor masterpiece best written by innately talented writers who have escaped being told that what they want to do is impossible. It is the beautifully simple tale of the disappearance of a village as it fades back into jungle, told in an omniscient voice that shares and embodies the villagers' own fatalistic acceptance of disaster. Not even mentioned in two recent accounts of British colonial fiction,<sup>6</sup> it is the work which proves the moral that imaginative sympathy with other peoples is the surest way to avoid imperialistic evils. Since it is fairly easily available, I will not describe it further but note that it is acknowledged in Ceylon as a classic and compares very favorably with such works as Shahnun Ahmad's *No Harvest But a Thorn*, written by an author native to a culture similar to that in *The Village in the Jungle*.<sup>7</sup> Woolf has caught and portrayed the same sense of fatalism that is present in Shahnun's work. The Diaries themselves are as dry as the Hanbantota district Woolf administered, but the "Stories from the East" which were reprinted with them are worth knowing.

There are three of these stories. Two of them are Conradian both in form and substance, one a fable or parable of sorts. In the fable, "The Two Brahmins," an omniscient narrator tells us of two highcaste men who once lived in a small town in Ceylon. One was haunted by a desire to be a fisherman, to fling a shining net over the water in the sunset. Because Brahmins may not do labor of this sort, he must choose between fishing or polluting his caste and defiling himself. He sneaks out to fish in secret, but a rumor spreads. The second Brahmin is a miser whose well goes brackish. Rather than pay someone to clear it he secretly does it himself, carrying the baskets of dirt on his head, defiling himself and all Brahmins as he does so. Again, the word spreads. The other Brahmins in town regard these two as outcasts and refuse to speak to them, but never admit to any other caste that there is any problem. Generations pass and most people forget the matter, retaining only the knowledge that Brahmins mustn't marry into these two families. Then the son of one of the families catches a glimpse of the daughter of the other and suggests to his father that a marriage be arranged. What happens? The fathers cannot agree on the dowry, they become excited, they call each other names based on the old stories: "Pariah!" "Fisher!" They cool off and try again, but the same thing happens.

There is an unhappy kind of unity and irony within the tale: it is the miserly father who

6 Jeffrey Meyers *Fiction and the Colonial Experience* (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield 1973). Benita Parry *Delusions and Discoveries: Studies on India in the British Imagination 1880-1930* (Berkeley: Univ of Cali-

formia Press 1972). Woolf's novel is noted in the bibliography of *Delusions and Discoveries*, if not in the text.

7 Translated from the Malay by A. Amin (London: Oxford Univ Press 1972).



wants to provide a small dowry; and the young man who still catches glimpses of the girl "is very unhappy; he goes down every evening and sits by the waters of the blue lagoon on the very spot where his great-great-great-grandfather Chellaya used to sit and watch the fishermen cast their nets."<sup>8</sup> The moral is clearly not that our sins are visited on further generations—though our character tendencies may persist—but that social conventions cause more trouble and more hurt than they should, that men are fools. To catch the tone, it is worth mentioning that young Woolf set off for Ceylon with a 90-volume set of Voltaire. It is this disapproving emphasis on the folly of prejudice and pride that makes me doubt any kind of total approval of the third Jew on the part of the first in "Three Jews."

"The Two Brahmans" and "Three Jews" share the pedagogic qualities of parable; both of Woolf's Conradian stories of the East have something of this quality, again expressed through the Marlow pattern used in "Three Jews." That is, there is a conversational frame; a man is telling other men a story from his own experience in order to illustrate problems of moral value. In the first, "A Tale Told by Moonlight," the first-person narrator introduces a man named Jessop, a man people didn't like because "He had rather a brutal manner sometimes of telling brutal things—the truth, he called it" (p 225). On this particular occasion several literary English gentlemen, sitting in the English moonlight, begin to talk rather idealistically of love. Finally Jessop speaks, blaming the novelists for creating the mistaken notion that this "flicker of the body" is real love. But he says he'll tell of one of the two cases he's seen of "the real, the mysterious thing."

His story is of someone he'd known at school who had been feeble and bullied, but who had grown into a successful novelist of psychological romance. Reynolds, the novelist, visits Jessop in Colombo. To Jessop, he seems someone who "had not in the ordinary sense lived at all. He had stood aside—do you see what I mean?—from shyness, nervousness, the remembrance of being bullied, and watched other people living" (p 258). At last Jessop decides to take him to a Ceylonese brothel, where he meets an "astonishingly beautiful" girl named Celestinahami. In his initial pity for her he loses his shyness and then, "he looked into her eyes that understood nothing but seemed to understand everything, and then it came out at last; the power to feel, the power so few have, the flame, the passion, love, the real thing" (p 261). Jessop assures us that it was real. Absurd, incredible, impossible, "it was tragic and it was at the same time wonderfully ridiculous." Reynolds tries to shoot himself but can't work the revolver. Jessop tells him to get on the next boat home or to practice

8 *Diaries in Ceylon, 1908–1911: Records of a Colonial Administrator* (Colombo: Ceylon Historical Jour-

nal 1962) 286. This book was very kindly given to me by Ashley Perera of Nuggeoda, Ceylon.

what he preaches in his novels, to buy her out and live with her. This Reynolds does, and it works until the reality sets in. He loves her, but "he was a civilized cultivated intelligent nervous little man and she—she was an animal, dumb and stupid and beautiful" (p 263). She, meanwhile, has come to love Reynolds with what Jessop calls the other kind of love, the love of the dog or the slave for its master. This begins to drive Reynolds mad. Jessop finally gets him to leave. He says he'll return but deeds the bungalow to the girl. Jessop sees her only once more, two days after Reynolds leaves, at the inquest. She has drowned herself.

This story, unlike "Three Jews," comes back to its setting. The literary critic concludes: "Battle, murder, and sentimentality. . . . You're as bad as the rest of them, Jessop" (p 264). And of course he is. Jessop tells a mildly realistic story of a muddled romantic tragedy for which he feels partially responsible, a story clearly intended to show the unromantic reality of this strange emotion that is not so sensible as to occur between those of the same class or race. But one would like to know to which of the two this great love should be attributed. All we know of Reynolds is that he never finishes his Eastern novel. Jessop's conclusion somehow makes the girl's love seem, finally, greater than Reynolds': it is more fitting that both Romeo and Juliet should die. As with Conrad's Marlow, we get a sense that Jessop is the one who loses. Like Marlow, he observes, interferes, sentimentalizes, and lets others judge both his stories and himself. The other "realism" of the story, that Jessop speaks fairly openly of sexual matters to which Conrad could barely allude, contributes to what blunt power the narrative has and provides the basis for Woolf's mildly sarcastic account of the American reaction to the second story, "Pearls and Swine."

In *Downhill All the Way*, the fourth autobiographical volume of Woolf's series of five, he recounts the efforts of a Mr Holt to obtain serial rights to the story on the basis of a review that declared that "'Pearls and Swine' will rank with the great stories of the world."<sup>9</sup> Woolf eventually sent Holt the book and reports that it seems to have been "a bit of a shock to him." Requested to doctor the story and to write more for "the great American market," Woolf declined. Mr Holt persisted and even stopped by with his wife to see the Woolfs in London, apparently amusing both Leonard and Virginia with this evidence of American manners and values. Even after this meeting, during which Woolf disclaimed both his desire and his ability to think up plots, Holt tried one more time, sending him a plot outline. Woolf never answered, leaving us with only "Pearls and Swine" to consider. This story begins with another first-person narrator, identified only as someone who has spent fifteen

9 *Downhill All the Way: An Autobiography of the Years 1919 to 1939* (NY: Harcourt 1967) 88.

years in the East but who is now on holiday at Torquay. Sitting around the fire, two men are talking of India, and it is perfectly clear to the narrator that they have never been there. He describes them with little charity and more sarcasm, particularly the clergyman. When the stuffed and insulated clergyman tells of the fine Board-school educated Britons who set such a good example and are so respected by the natives, another man, who has been out East, can contain himself no longer. He comes out with a Tamil proverb to the effect that some people who know very little think they know everything between Benares and Rameswaram (roughly equivalent to Alpha and Omega). Meeting some ignorant opposition but asked for his opinion, he offers them facts and tells his exemplum.

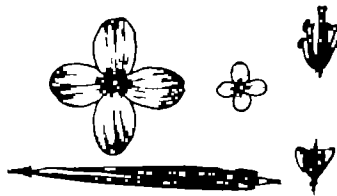
It seems that he was once director of the pearl fishery held every three years or so in the north of Ceylon. Men come from all over the East to dive for the pearls. The Crown claims 40%, so one white director and his white assistant oversee the camp of 40,000 men and sit among the rotting, stinking oysters waiting for the pearls to show up. Into this difficult situation comes a travelling white man, an alcoholic no-good who has sunk lower and lower in his peregrinations. He's rather the opposite of Tuan Jim, Marlow's hero in Conrad's *Lord Jim*. Jim preserves an honor that at least some part of the world can admire. In this story White (note the name) is the swine. The director's assistant is too young and sickened by the dead oysters to be much help. When White finally succumbs to delirium tremens and starts hallucinating, the assistant also breaks down. The director then must go and exert authority in the counting area through the night as boats come in, and has no choice but to keep the two others with him. He ties White to a pole, and all through the night White writhes and screams and pours out his sordid fears and sins. Finally, in a paroxysm of lust and screaming for a woman, he dies. This gruesomeness is counterpointed to the death of one of the Arabs in a boat that comes in near dawn. The director hears the leader of the Arab group console the brother of the dead man: he died at his work; it was a good death. The only thing left to be said of White is that he had to be buried immediately.

The story concludes by returning to the discomfort of the clergyman and one final Tamil proverb: "When the cat puts his head into a pot, he thinks all is darkness." There is no doubt that "Pearls and Swine" is a very vivid and powerful story, meant to have some impact on the Empire. It reminds us that E. M. Forster finished *A Passage to India* only with Leonard Woolf's urging. The return of the narrative to the quiet frame of the conversation in the Torquay hotel barely contains the explosive violence of the anecdote. The listeners in the hotel are left to adjust their moral complacencies in being white and British as they may. The readers of the story have the further perspective of the narrator, who has listened to both the stay-at-home imperialists and the teller of the anecdote, and clearly

values the wisdom of the man who has gone far enough outside his own culture to develop both tolerance and humility.

Leonard Woolf published no more fiction. He turned more and more toward work in practical political philosophy, toward editing, organizing, and theorizing in an effort to bring the world back from wars and exploitation to sanity and fairness. His collected fiction would consist only of these few works—one novel and three stories based on his experience in Ceylon; one novel and one story stemming from his life as a Jew in the London of the Georgian age. Yet his work should be more widely known, not only for the glimpses of Bloomsbury in *The Wise Virgins* or the faint chance of collaboration in *Two Stories*, but also for its own power. His dominant mode is irony, always difficult to control; yet his sympathetic imagination, his acerbic intellect, and his acute observation far outweigh his sometimes ineffective and old-fashioned fictional techniques.

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SHELBY MARTIN

## Winifred Bryher: A Check List

THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL NOVELIST known as Winifred Bryher was born Annie Winifred Ellerman in Margate, Kent, on September 2 1894. As the daughter of the wealthy financier John Reeves Ellerman (later Sir John Ellerman, Bart.) her childhood was devoted to travel, private study, and reading. A strong interest in history, archaeology, and literature developed her intense identification with the past.

When Miss Ellerman began to write she legally assumed the name Bryher (from one of the Scilly Isles) in order to avoid capitalizing on her father's financial control of many British publications. In 1920 her close friendship with the American poet Hilda Doolittle (H.D.) led to extended travels in Greece and in the United States. In 1921 she met and married the American writer Robert McAlmon in the United States and they returned to Europe to live.

With the financial support of Bryher, McAlmon established Contact Press in Paris, where he published works by Ernest Hemingway, Gertrude Stein, H. D., and Bryher among others. Bryher divorced McAlmon in 1927 and married Kenneth Macpherson. With Macpherson she published the film journal *Close Up* from 1927 to 1933.<sup>1</sup> She also contributed numerous essays, book reviews, and poems to many literary journals. For the duration of World War II she returned to Britain from her home in Switzerland and worked with the journal *Life and Letters To-day*. After the war ended she returned to Switzerland, and in 1947 she divorced Kenneth Macpherson.

In 1952 a distinguished career began with the publication of *The Fourteenth of October*, her fourth novel but the first of her historical novels. Bryher's novels deal with a wide variety of periods—from Switzerland of the Roman outposts to England of the Norman Conquest—and yet the documentation for each period is accurate and unobtrusive. All of the novels focus upon periods of chaos when the old foundations of cultures are destroyed and new foundations must be developed. Her characters are ordinary people forced by circum-

1 See Melinda Ward "Index to *Close Up*" BNYPL 73 (1969) 491-524

stances to deal with the collapse of the world as they have known it. The problem of loyalty to culture, religion, and/or friendship under the new conditions is developed both realistically for that moment in time and metaphorically for twentieth-century crises. Her prose is spare and yet her images convey haunting beauty.

Although a distinguished novelist, Bryher has been neglected by biographers and bibliographers. Since this first extensive check list is likely to have many omissions, I would be very happy to receive additions and corrections from those familiar with other works of Bryher.

### Note

This check list is divided into nine sections devoted to works by and about Bryher. The sections for works by Bryher include: I books; II periodical articles; III translations of articles; IV poems; V book reviews; and VI film reviews. Sections for works about Bryher include: VII reviews of books and VIII secondary biographical resources. IX (manuscript collections) lists material by or related to Bryher. In this check list I have not attempted to list collections of letters or memoirs, such as H. D.'s *Tribute to Freud*, which contain significant references to Bryher.

The following abbreviations for names of periodicals have been used in this check list. In listing periodicals, following the abbreviated name appear the volume number, date of publication, and page numbers, in that order.

|              |                                                        |               |                                  |
|--------------|--------------------------------------------------------|---------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>Am</i>    | <i>America</i>                                         | <i>Ch</i>     | <i>Choice</i>                    |
| <i>Ath</i>   | <i>Athenaeum</i>                                       | <i>ClW</i>    | <i>Classical World</i>           |
| <i>BB</i>    | <i>Books and Bookmen</i>                               | <i>CSM</i>    | <i>Christian Science Monitor</i> |
| <i>BCCB</i>  | <i>Bulletin of the Center for<br/>Children's Books</i> | <i>CST</i>    | <i>Chicago Sunday Tribune</i>    |
| <i>BET</i>   | <i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>                       | <i>CUp</i>    | <i>Close Up</i>                  |
| <i>Bkl</i>   | <i>Booklist</i>                                        | <i>Cw</i>     | <i>Commonweal</i>                |
| <i>Bkm</i>   | <i>Bookmark</i>                                        | <i>G</i>      | <i>Guardian</i>                  |
| <i>BkW</i>   | <i>Book Week</i>                                       | <i>HR</i>     | <i>Hudson Review</i>             |
| <i>Bm</i>    | <i>Bookman</i>                                         | <i>K</i>      | <i>Kirkus</i>                    |
| <i>Bm(L)</i> | <i>Bookman (London)</i>                                | <i>Li</i>     | <i>Listener</i>                  |
| <i>BS</i>    | <i>Best Sellers</i>                                    | <i>LJ</i>     | <i>Library Journal</i>           |
| <i>BSBB</i>  | <i>Booklist and Subscription Books<br/>Bulletin</i>    | <i>LL</i>     | <i>Life and Letters</i>          |
| <i>BT</i>    | <i>Books Today</i>                                     | <i>LLT</i>    | <i>Life and Letters To-day</i>   |
| <i>BW</i>    | <i>Book World</i>                                      | <i>N</i>      | <i>Nation</i>                    |
| <i>CathW</i> | <i>Catholic World</i>                                  | <i>NAR</i>    | <i>North American Review</i>     |
|              |                                                        | <i>NatObs</i> | <i>National Observer</i>         |
|              |                                                        | <i>NatRev</i> | <i>National Review</i>           |



Stein, photographed by Carl Van Vechten in December 1938—from the Berg Collection, reproduced courtesy of the Estate of Carl Van Vechten

|        |                                            |      |                                   |
|--------|--------------------------------------------|------|-----------------------------------|
| NR     | <i>New Republic</i>                        | PW   | <i>Publisher's Weekly</i>         |
| NS     | <i>New Statesman</i>                       | S    | <i>Spectator</i>                  |
| NYEP   | <i>NY Evening Post</i>                     | SFC  | <i>San Francisco Chronicle</i>    |
| NYHTB  | <i>New York Herald Tribune Books</i>       | SpR  | <i>Springfield Republican</i>     |
| NYHTBR | <i>New York Herald Tribune Book Review</i> | SR   | <i>Saturday Review</i>            |
| NYr    | <i>New Yorker</i>                          | T(L) | <i>The Times</i> (London)         |
| NYT    | <i>NY Times</i>                            | TLS  | <i>Times Literary Supplement</i>  |
| NYTBR  | <i>New York Times Book Review</i>          | WJT  | <i>NY World Journal Tribune</i>   |
| Obs    | <i>Observer</i>                            | WLB  | <i>Wisconsin Library Bulletin</i> |
| P      | <i>Poetry</i>                              | WR   | <i>Weekly Review</i>              |
|        |                                            | YR   | <i>Yale Review</i>                |

## I BOOKS

- Amy Lowell: A Critical Appreciation* 2nd ed (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode 1918)—non-fiction
- Arrow Music* (London: J. & E. Bumpus 1922)—poetry
- Beowulf: roman d'une maison de thé dans Londres bombardé* (Paris: Mercure de France 1948)—fiction
- Civilians* (Territet: Pool 1927)—fiction
- The Coin of Carthage* (NY: Harcourt, Brace & World 1963)—fiction
- The Colors of Vaud* (NY: Harcourt, Brace & World 1969)—fiction
- The Days of Mars: A Memoir, 1940-1946* (NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich 1972)—autobiography
- Development, a Novel* (London: Constable 1920; NY: Macmillan 1920)—fiction
- "Film in Education" in *Cinema Survey* Bryher with Robert Herring and Dallas Bower (London: Brendin Publishing Co 1937; London: Blue Moon Press 1937)—non-fiction
- Film Problems of Soviet Russia* (London: Pool 1929; Territet: Riant Chateau 1929)—non-fiction
- The Fourteenth of October, a Novel* (NY: Pantheon 1952)—fiction
- Gate to the Sea* (NY: Pantheon 1958)—fiction
- The Heart to Artemis: A Writer's Memoirs* (NY: Harcourt, Brace & World 1962)—autobiography
- The Lament for Adonis* tr from the Greek of Bion of Smyrna (London: A. L. Humphreys 1918)—poetry
- The Light-hearted Student: I. German with Trude Weiss* (Dijon: Pool 1930; London: Pool 1930)—non-fiction
- Paris 1900* tr Sylvia Beach and Adrienne Monnier (Paris: La Maison des Amis des Livres 1938)—non-fiction
- A Picture Geography for Little Children: Part One Asia* (London: Jonathan Cape 1925)—non-fiction
- The Player's Boy, a Novel* (NY: Pantheon 1953)—fiction



*Region of Lutory* [signed Annie Winifred Ellerman] (London: Chapman & Hall 1914)—poetry  
*Roman Wall, a Novel* (NY: Pantheon 1954)—fiction  
*Ruan* (NY: Pantheon 1960)—fiction  
*This January Tale* (NY: Harcourt, Brace & World 1966)—fiction

*Two Selves* (Paris: Contact Publishing Co 1923)—fiction  
*Visa for Avalon* (NY: Harcourt, Brace & World 1965)—fiction  
*West* (London: Jonathan Cape 1925)—non-fiction

## II PERIODICAL ARTICLES

"Girl-page in Elizabethan Literature" *Fortnightly Review* 113 (March 1920) 442-52  
 "Chance Encounter" *The Little Review* 10 (Autumn/Winter 1924-25) 35-39  
 "South (from a book now being written)" *This Quarter* 1 (1925) 182-93  
 "Children and the Cinema" *Outlook (London)* 58 (Aug 21 1926) 173-74  
 "The War from Three Angles: The Big Parade; Mons; The Emden" *CUP* 1 (July 1927) 16-22  
 "Films in Education: the Complex of the Machine" *CUP* 1 (Aug 1927) 49-54  
 "The War from More Angles" *CUP* 1 (Oct 1927) 44-48  
 "G. W. Pabst; a Survey" *CUP* 1 (Dec 1927) 56-61  
 "Defence of Hollywood" *CUP* 2 (Feb 1928) 44-51  
 "What Can I Do" *CUP* 2 (Mar 1928) 21-25  
 "An Interview: Anita Loos" *CUP* 2 (Apr 1928) 12-15  
 "What Can I Do (II)" *CUP* 2 (May 1928) 32-37

"How I Would Start a Film Club" *CUP* 2 (June 1928) 30-36  
 "Films for Children" *CUP* 3 (Aug 1928) 16-20  
 "Dope or Stimulus" *CUP* 3 (Sept 1928) 59-61  
 "How to Rent a Film" *CUP* 3 (Dec 1928) 45-51  
 "A Certificate of Approval" *CUP* 5 (Dec 1929) 483-87  
 "A German School Film [Kampf der Tertia]" *CUP* 6 (Feb 1930) 128-33  
 "A New Commission" *CUP* 6 (Mar 1930) 223-24  
 "That Ye Be Not Judged!" by Kenneth Macpherson and Bryher *CUP* 7 (July 1930) 67-68  
 "Danger in the Cinema" *CUP* 7 (Nov 1930) 299-304  
 "Berlin: April 1931" *CUP* 8 (June 1931) 126-33  
 "The Hollywood Code" *CUP* 8 (Sept 1931) 234-38  
 "The Hollywood Code (II)" *CUP* 8 (Dec 1931) 280-82



- "West and East of the Atlantic" *CUP* 9 (June 1932) 131-33
- "Notes on Some Films: Berlin, June 1932" *CUP* 9 (Sept 1932) 196-99
- "What Shall You Do in the War?" *CUP* 10 (June 1933) 188-92
- "The American Season, 1934-1935" *Interline* 7 (Sept 1935) 23-28
- "Manchester" *LL* 13 (Dec 1935) 89-112; 14 (Spring 1936) 94-114; 14 (Summer 1936) 74-98
- "Paris, 1900" *LLT* 16 (Summer 1937) 33-42
- "Egypt, 1903" *LLT* 17 (Winter 1937) 47-54; 18 (Spring 1938) 57-67
- "Prague, July 1938" *LLT* 19 ([Sept] 1938) 4-11
- "Some Modern American Poets" *LLT* 19 ([Oct] 1938) 30-40
- "The Crisis: September" *LLT* 19 ([Nov] 1938) 1-6
- "The Calendar" *LLT* 21 (June 1939) 21-25
- "Recent French Literature" *LLT* 23 (Nov 1939) 170-77
- "My Introduction to America" *LLT* 26 (Sept 1940) 233-38
- "Bus to Barcelona" *LLT* 27 (Nov 1940) 83-88
- "By Plane from Portugal" *LLT* 27 (Dec 1940) 168-74
- "Factors in the Defeat of France" *LLT* 28 (Mar 1941) 205-10
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 "March Adventure" *NAR* 209 (Mar 1919) 416  
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- Gottfried von Strassburg *Tristan und Isolte*, LLT 42 (Aug 1944) 115-16
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- "A Private Showing of *Cosmos*" *CUp* 4 (May 1929) 42-45
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*Arrow Music*

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*Beowulf*

"Young Despair and Mature Courage" signed H. C. Gardiner, *Am* 95 (Sept 1 1956) 507; *BSBB* 53 (Oct 1 1956) 70; *Bkm* 16 (Oct 1956) 8; *CathW* 184 (Nov 1956) 151; *CSM* (Aug 30 1956) 7; *Cw* 65 (Oct 12 1956) 52; *K* 24 (June 15 1956) 418; *N* 183 (Oct 20 1956) 331; *NR* 135 (Sept 3 1956) 21; *NYHTBR* (Aug 26 1956) 5; *NYTBR* (Aug 26 1956) 4; *NYr* 32 (Sept 1 1956) 94; *SFC* (Aug 29 1956) 19; *SR* 39 (Sept 1 1956) 11; *SpR* (Nov 11 1956) 8c.

*Coin of Carthage*

*BS* 23 (June 1 1963) 89; *C/W* 57 (Nov 1963) 53; *CSM* (June 1 1963) 9; *LJ* 88 (May 1 1963) 1900; *NatRev* 15 (Aug 27 1963) 157; *NYHTB* (June 2 1963) 5; *NYr* 39 (July 6 1963) 69; *NYT* (May 29 1963) 3; *NYTBR* (June 2 1963) 5; *SR* 46 (July 13 1963) 28; *Time* 81 (June 21 1963) 94; *T(L)* (Jan 23 1964) 15b.

*The Colors of Vaud*

*BS* 29 (Jan 1 1970) 382; *BW* (Feb 15 1970) 7; *CSM* (Feb 19 1970) 9; *LJ* 95 (Jan 1 1970) 82; *NYTBR* (Feb 8 1970) 32; *SR* 52 (Dec 6 1969) 58.

*The Days of Mars*

*BB* 18 (June 1973) 133; *Bkl* 68 (Feb 1 1972) 449; *BS* 31 (Feb 15 1972) 499; *Ch* 9 (Feb

1973) 1586; *LJ* 97 (Apr 15 1972) 1422; *TLS* (Feb 23 1973) 206.

*Development*

*Ath* (July 30 1920) 144; *BET* (Nov 20 1920) 5; *Bm* 52 (Jan 1921) 341; *Bm*(L) 58 (Aug 1920) 172; *N* 112 (Feb 2 1921) 188; *NR* 25 (Jan 26 1921) 270; *NYEP* (Jan 15 1921) 8; *NYT* (Jan 23 1921) 25; *S* 125 (Dec 11 1920) 781; *SR* 130 (July 24 1920) 79; *TLS* (June 24 1920) 401; *WR* 3 (Dec 8 1920) 561.

*The Fourteenth of October*

*CSM* (June 26 1952) 11; *Cw* 56 (May 30 1952) 205; *K* 20 (Apr 1 1952) 232; *NR* 127 (Oct 6 1952) 28; *NYHTBR* (Apr 27 1952) 15; *NYr* 28 (May 10 1952) 138; *NYT* (Apr 30 1952) 25; *NYTBR* (Apr 27 1952) 4; *SFC* (June 10 1952) 15; *SpR* (June 8 1952) 9c; *SR* 35 (July 19 1952) 37.

*Gate to the Sea*

*Bkl* 55 (Oct 15 1958) 97; *Bkm* 18 (Oct 1958) 13; *CathW* 188 (Nov 1958) 160; *CSM* (Sept 11 1958) 7; *CST* (Sept 21 1958) 3; *LJ* 83 (Oct 1 1958) 2763; *NYHTBR* (Sept 14 1958) 5; *NYr* 34 (Nov 29 1958) 236; *NYT* (Sept 26 1958) 25; *NYTBR* (Sept 14 1958) 5; "To Infuse Belief" signed Marianne Moore *P* 93 (Feb 1959) 320; *T(L)* (June 25 1959) 13c; *WLB* 54 (Nov 1958) 523.

*The Heart to Artemis*

*Bkl* 58 (June 1 1962) 680 and also 58 (July 1 1962) 745; *CSM* (July 21 1962) 7-14; *CST* (July 1 1962) 2; *K* 30 (Apr 15 1962) 411; *LJ* 87 (July 1 1962) 2128; *NYHTBR* (June 17 1962) 10; *NYT* (June 25 1962) 27; *NYTBR* (Aug 5 1962) 4; *SFC* (July 6 1962) 31; *SR* 45 (July 7 1962) 32-33; *Time* 79

(June 15 1962) 86; *T(L)* (Sept 26 1963) 15c; *TLS* (Oct 18 1963) 828.

*The Player's Boy*

*Bkm* 12 (July 1953) 231; *CSM* (July 23 1953) 5; *CST* (May 24 1953) 4; *LJ* 78 (Oct 15 1953) 1849; *N* 177 (July 18 1953) 56; *NYHTBR* (May 24 1953) 4; *NYT* (May 27 1953) 29; *NYTBR* (May 17 1953) 4; *SFC* (June 11 1953) 13; *SpR* (Aug 9 1953) 4c; *YR* 42 (Summer 1953) 12.

*Region of Lutanry*

*Bm(L)* 46 (Apr 1914) 53.

*Roman Wall*

*Bkl* 50 (June 1 1954) 380; *Bkm* 13 (June 1954) 219; *CathW* 179 (Sept 1954) 473; *CSM* (June 3 1954) 11; *CST* (May 16 1954) 7; *Cw* 60 (Aug 20 1954) 493; *K* 22 (May 1 1954) 291; *N* 179 (July 17 1954) 58; *NYHTBR* (May 16 1954) 3; *NYr* 30 (June 26 1954) 90; *NYT* (May 14 1954) 21; *NYTBR* (May 16 1954) 5; *SR* 37 (June 12 1954) 12; *SpR* (May 30 1954) 9c; *T(L)* (Aug 25 1955) 11b; *WLB* 50 (Oct 1954) 209.

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*Bkl* 57 (Jan 15 1961) 292; *Bkm* 20 (Nov 1960) 46; *CathW* 192 (Mar 1961) 367; *CSM* (Nov 10 1960) 11; *CST* (Dec 18 1960) 4; *Cw* 73 (Dec 2 1960) 260; *G* (July 7 1961) 9;

*K* 28 (Oct 15 1960) 910; *LJ* 85 (Dec 1 1960) 4388; *NS* 62 (July 7 1961) 23; *NYHTBR* (Nov 13 1960) 3; *NYT* (Nov 9 1960) 33; *NYTBR* (Nov 6 1960) 4; *SFC* (Nov 7 1960) 35; *SR* 43 (Nov 12 1960) 32; *S* (July 7 1961) 36; *SpR* (Dec 18 1960) 5d; *T(L)* (July 6 1961) 17b; *TLS* (July 14 1961) 436.

*This January Tale*

*BkW* (Nov 6 1966) 6; *BS* 26 (Nov 15 1966) 306; *BSBB* 63 (Nov 1 1966) 300; *BT* 3 (Nov 27 1966) 17; *CSM* (Dec 15 1966) 11; *HR* 20 (Spring 1967) 163; *K* 34 (Sept 1 1966) 926; *L* 79 (Feb 1 1968) 150; *LJ* 91 (Dec 15 1966) 6109; *NatRev* 19 (Feb 21 1967) 204; *NR* 156 (Jan 14 1967) 34; *NYTBR* (Nov 27 1966) 69; *Obs* (Jan 7 1968) 25; *PW* 190 (Aug 29 1966) 339; *SR* 50 (Jan 28 1967) 47; *T(L)* (Jan 20 1968) 20e; *TLS* (May 2 1968) 449; *WJT* 1 (Jan 11 1967) 32.

*Visa for Avalon*

*BCCB* 18 (June 1965) 143; *BkW* (Apr 25 1965) 14; *BS* 25 (May 1 1965) 58; *BSBB* 61 (June 15 1965) 986; *Ch* 2 (July/Aug 1965) 295; *K* 33 (Feb 15 1965) 198; *LJ* 90 (Apr 15 1965) 1929, and also 90 (July 1965) 3138; *NatObs* 4 (May 10 1965) 21; *NYr* 41 (June 12 1965) 156; *NYTBR* (Apr 25 1965) 4; *SR* 48 (May 15 1965) 31.

## VIII SECONDARY BIOGRAPHICAL RESOURCES

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- Poetry, Records 1912-1960: University of Chicago Library
- Amy Lowell, Correspondence (more than 30 Bryher letters): Houghton Library, Harvard University
- Montgomery County Community College, Blue Bell, Pennsylvania*



HOWARD O. BROGAN

## Byron and Dr Johnson, "that Profoundest of Critics"

BYRON'S ADMIRATION for Pope is well known. Many have professed to be puzzled that so major an example of Romantic rebellion could look upon the classical Augustan as the ideal poet. They forget that Byron also looked upon George Washington—an embodiment of eighteenth-century classical virtue and self-restraint, even though a rebel—as his ideal statesman.<sup>1</sup>

The truth is that Byron had a strong strain of "Regency Classicism" in him. He belongs to an age of elegance that produced Adam mansions, Regency furniture, the portrait painting of Lawrence and Cosway, the sculpture of Flaxman and Chantrey, and the admirably constructed novels of Austen, as well as gave rein to that king of all dandies Beau Brummell.<sup>2</sup> We ought to remember that Byron himself set a style for his time in dress and manners as well as in poetry. He was a fashionable aristocrat, with a popularity for some years equivalent to that of the most celebrated entertainer of today. Even in his disgrace he was a center of attention, not only in England and in Western Europe but in distant Russia and America as well.

Byron's sort of Romanticism was grafted onto Regency Classicism. The result was Romanticism with a difference. Part of the difference was that Byron and others of his type—Crabbe, Rogers, Moore, Campbell, Scott—never repudiated their eighteenth-century predecessors, as Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats did, but revered and imitated them. Crabbe (classical, though hardly elegant), whose *Village* had been approved and revised by Johnson, wrote in closed couplets right through the Romantic period, as did

1 Among several laudations of Washington the strongest is in stanza xix of the *Ode to Napoleon*, comparing the emperor unfavorably to this "Cincinnatus of the West," who "bequeathed the name of Washington, / To make man blush there was but one!" *The Works of Lord Byron, Poetry* ed E. H. Coleridge (Lon-

don: John Murray 1905) III 314; hereafter this edition is referred to as *Poetry*.

2 Helene Richter devotes a whole chapter in her *Lord Byron: Persönlichkeit und Werk* (Halle: Niemeyer 1929) to Byron's work as related to the Empire style, of which Regency is an English variant.

Rogers, though with less success. Moore began his career with an elegant translation of Anacreon, and his *Irish Melodies* were adapted to be sung in the salons of the great aristocratic Whig houses. Campbell's poems were written for a similar audience. Scott lovingly edited Dryden and Swift. He pictured seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Scotland in his best novels, and in these he always interpolated a lesson of eighteenth-century rational common sense while taking maximum advantage of picturesque remnants of medieval, Highland clan, and other Romantic memorials of the Scottish past. More than these others, Byron genuinely reflected the attitudes of the new age which came to be called Romantic, but his version of the Romantic early showed classical leanings which became more and more prominent in his later and better work.<sup>3</sup>

Thus it is not really so surprising as many suppose to find in Byron a poetic admirer of Pope; but what has hardly been noticed at all is that he also greatly admired Dr Johnson as a poet, a novelist, and a man, but more particularly as a critic. His interest in Johnson became apparent early in life and—except for the first period of his self-exile—lasted throughout his literary career. His admiration is reflected in his poetry, his letters, his journals, and his conversations. It had an influence—hardly noticed by his critics—upon his views of literature and of the life which that literature reflects.

Byron even had a remote personal connection through his Aunt Sophia, "a favourite of Dr. Johnson," according to Mrs Piozzi. Byron remembered this aunt with affection and respect. No doubt he heard first-hand anecdotes of Dr Johnson from her.<sup>4</sup> Such a connection would naturally pique the curiosity of an aspiring poet. Dr Johnson's advice as reported by Boswell "to keep a journal of my life, full and unreserved," might possibly have been responsible for Byron's keeping "a very exact journal of every circumstance of his life; and many of his thoughts while young," which his friend Hobhouse persuaded him to destroy while they were in Greece.<sup>5</sup> His repeated keeping of a journal and his writing of his own

3 Instead of accepting F. E. Pierce's interesting belief in chapter vi of *Currents and Eddies in the Romantic Generation* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ Press 1918) that there was a revival of Neoclassicism midway in the Romantic period, one can see classicism continuing as a minor element throughout the period, but concentrated particularly in a number of authors.

4 *Autobiography, Letters and Literary Remains of Mrs. Piozzi* [Thrale] ed A. Hayward (2nd ed London: Longman, Green 1861) II 269–70; *The Works of Lord Byron, Letters and Journals* ed R. E. Prothero (London: Murray 1922) I 40–41, and note 1 of 40. All letters al-

luded to by date are from this edition, which is also referred to as *LJ*.

5 *Life of Samuel Johnson* . . . ed G. B. Hill and L. F. Powell (Oxford: Clarendon 1934—vols v and vi 1964) I 433: hereafter referred to as *LSJ*; [George Finlay] "Reminiscences of Lord Byron . . .," following William Parry's *Last Days of Lord Byron* . . . (Paris: n.p. 1826) 227. R. C. Dallas, in *Recollections of the Life of Lord Byron* . . . (London: Longman 1824) iv, 290, 343, perhaps refers to this as the book from which Byron read him unflattering character sketches of his early associates.

memoirs, unique to the great authors of this period—except for Scott, who admits at the beginning of his *Journal* to following Byron's example—must have been influenced by his fascination with the accounts of Johnson which the present study reveals.

Byron's first surviving reference to Johnson is in a letter of March 28 1808 concerning the savage criticism of his juvenile *Hours of Idleness* in the *Edinburgh Review*. Pretending an unconcern which we know he did not feel, he claims he could have written a more severe one himself. For example, he might have ridiculed his youthfulness by considering his imitation of Ossian as only proving "the well-known assertion of Dr. Johnson, that many men, women, and *children*, could write such poetry as Ossian's" (*LSJ* I 396).

The first unmistakable reference to Johnson in connection with Byron's own poetry is in 1811 in a note to the unpublished *Hints from Horace*, in which he justifies the pronunciation of Lear as a monosyllable from an example in Johnson's *Irene* (*Poetry* I, note to line 164). In lines 281–82 of the text of the *Hints* he refers again to *Irene*, and an obscure reference to the suicide of Eustace Budgell in lines 823–26 must draw upon Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson*.<sup>6</sup>

A documented series of allusions to Johnson's life, opinions, and works extends from these at the outset of Byron's career nearly to its end. His frequent references reveal an awareness of Johnson which is too pervasive not to be important. Most of these are literary, drawn by the events of his own career as a writer from a mind so familiar with Johnson as often to be reminded of him.

Surprised in 1811 by his publisher Murray's enthusiasm for *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Byron writes to him on September 5 that "The time seems to be past when (as Dr. Johnson said) a man was certain to 'hear the truth from his book-seller. . .'" He was asked to read a new novel by Mme d'Arblay and at once thought that he "should be very cautious in venturing an opinion of her whose *Cecilia* Dr. Johnson superintended" (*LJ* II 82). In advising a poetic clerk in 1812 against trying to live by literature, he alters Johnson's couplet summarizing the ills of a scholar's life to apply them to the author, with special emphasis on the evils of patronage (*LJ* II 124).

One result of the extraordinary reputation he acquired with the publication of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* in this year was the request for him to write a poetic "Address" for the opening of the rebuilt Drury-Lane Theatre after all of those submitted by other poets had been rejected. In searching for models Byron decided that "There are but two decent pro-

6 See the notes to these lines in *Poetry*. *LSJ* II 229, has a discussion of Budgell's suicide.

logues in our tongue—Pope's to *Cato*—Johnson's to Drury-Lane" (*LJ* II 151). He protests against castrating his "cavalry lines" against bringing horses onto the stage by reference to Johnson's protesting "similar buffooneries" in his "Prologue" (*LJ* II 156–57).

In a note to *The Giaour* the next year he reveals admiration of Johnson's *Rasselas* (*Poetry* III 145). His journal for 1813 shows him suspecting Hunt of being "a little opinionated, as all men who are the *centre of circles* . . . must be, and as even Johnson was . . ." (*LJ* II 358).

The unheroic fall of Napoleon in 1814 causes him to exclaim "Oh that Juvenal or Johnson could rise from the dead!" (*LJ* II 410). His own *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte* satirized his former idol with Juvenalian–Johnsonian vigor for unclassically preferring life to honor. In the same year he hopes that little harm has come from the severity of his satire in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* because of Johnson's confidence that "no man was ever written down except by himself" (*LJ* III 47).<sup>7</sup> Later in this year, after reading Peacock's satire of himself in *Sir Proteus* he demonstrates confidence in this doctrine by repeating—with one change of word—Johnson's ironic question on a similar occasion: "Are we alive after all this satire?" (*LJ* III 89–90).<sup>8</sup>

In a letter to Moore of April 23 1815 he refers to the "concoction" of a play, drawing on a passage in Boswell's *Life* in which Johnson challenged Garrick's use of such a term (*LJ* III 259). He responds in a letter to Taylor of September 25 1815 to the first storm of censure directed against him by the press in terms of Johnson's defiance of Macpherson (*LSJ* II 298).

During the separation scandal Byron had other preoccupations; and allusions to Johnson are also lacking in the early months of his exile, through his residence in Geneva. His own guilt and sorrow, enhanced by his illicit attachment to Jane Clairmont, his dosing by Shelley with Rousseau and Wordsworth, his sensitivity to the spectacular Alpine environment, his introduction to Goethe's *Faust* by "Monk" Lewis, who also brought about that recounting of horror stories which stimulated Mary Shelley to produce *Frankenstein* and—along with all these other influences—very likely suggested *Manfred* to himself, these were all very unclassical and anti-Johnsonian influences.

Italy brought Johnson back to his mind, resulting in a resumption of miscellaneous

7 From Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Dr. Johnson, LL.D.*, entry for Oct 1: R. W. Chapman ed, with Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (London: Oxford Univ Press 1930) 344.

8 See *LSJ* IV 29. But Byron had shown great sensitivity to a previous attack in the *Edinburgh Review*; for

his later sensitivity see Marguerite Gardiner, Countess of Blessington *The Idler in Italy* (London: Colburn 1839–40) II 65, and especially Medwin's *Conversations of Lord Byron* ed E. J. Lovell (Princeton: Princeton Univ Press 1966) 150.

literary reference. Not long after arriving in Venice in 1816, he recollects Johnson's editing Macbeth's "way of life" into "May of life" in humorously alluding to his advancing "into the sear, the yellow leaf" (*LJ* IV 25). A few months later Byron boasts of his *Lament of Tasso* that "these be good rhymes," as near the beginning of Johnson's life of Pope that poet's father is reported to have boasted of his son's (*LJ* IV 115).

Allusions to Johnson begin to appear more frequently in Byron's poetry. E. H. Coleridge indicates in a note to stanza clxxxii ("Thy shores are empires, changed in all save thee") of classically oriented Canto IV of the *Pilgrimage* the probable derivation from a passage in Boswell's Johnson on "the four great Empires of the world" bordering the Mediterranean (*LSJ* III 36).<sup>9</sup>

In a note to stanza ii of *Don Juan* Canto IV, Coleridge quotes a passage from *The Vanity of Human Wishes* as containing parallel observations on the influence of time, but the resemblance is general rather than particular. A specific quotation from Johnson on the "unhappy failure of pious resolves" appears in stanza xxxvii of *The Vision of Judgment*: "Sir, Hell is paved with good intentions" (*LSJ* II 360). Most such references continue to occur in letters. Thus praise in *The Edinburgh Review* of "that dirty little blackguard" Keats—whose attack on Pope Byron did not forgive until after Keats's death—made him think (in a postscript to a letter to Murray of November 18 1820) of repudiating his own previous praise in the *Edinburgh* as Johnson had thought of giving up his own pension when Sheridan received one.

In humorous allusion on November 23 1821 to his own pretense of writing only for money, he refers to Johnson's belief that such is the only adequate motivation (*LSJ* III 19).<sup>10</sup> On January 12 1822 he asks Sir Walter Scott a question he erroneously believes Boswell put to Johnson: "of *whom could* you be *jealous*?" On October 31 1822 he compares his reluctant publisher Murray's "high and mighty notions" of his "own extreme importance in the planetary system" to that of the philosopher in chapter XLI of *Rasselas*, "who took the direction of the winds under his auspices. . . ."

Near the end of his residence in Italy, in a conversation with the Countess of Blessing-

9 Leslie A. Marchand *Byron: A Biography* (NY: Knopf 1957) 737 notes how disappointed Byron's friend Hobhouse must have been when Byron praised only Foscolo's secret contribution to Hobhouse's *Historical Illustrations of the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold* by describing it as "not exceeded by Johnson's Poets,

which I think the type of perfection."

10 *Lord Byron's Correspondence* ed John Murray (NY: Scribner 1922) II 205, Elizabeth F. Boyd *Byron's "Don Juan": A Critical Study* (NY: Humanities Press 1958) 146, notes that Johnson was one of the authors much on his mind in 1821.

ton,<sup>11</sup> that fashionable literary beauty with the dubious past, he compared his desire to get his literary friend Thomas Moore entirely to himself to Johnson's desire to be driven fast shut up in a post chaise, partly because his conversational companions had to stay with him there (*LSJ* II 453 and note 1). Byron may also have been remembering as he looked upon the fair Countess that Johnson had thought on another occasion that such a ride would be particularly pleasant with a pretty woman (*LSJ* III 162).

As he approached his final involvement with Greece, he met two German philhellene refugees fleeing from a disastrous defeat of the Greek rebels. The one from Bavaria he described by line 241 of Johnson's *The Vanity of Human Wishes* as "the bold Bavarian, in a luckless hour."

Very likely Byron was dipping into books by and about Johnson in the odd and desultory way of reading and rereading which he described to his mistress, the Countess Guiccioli: "I like sometimes to read one book and sometimes another, a few pages at a time. . . ." Hunt described "the fiercely triple dog-eared volumes" in his library. Since several observers were impressed by his remarkable memory and promptness of response, he would have no difficulty in recalling appropriate passages as he talked or wrote.<sup>12</sup>

Reminiscences also continue in the poetry. E. H. Coleridge suggests Johnson as the source of the passage on misers in stanzas iii–xv in *Don Juan*, Canto XII. In Canto XIII stanza vii, the delights of hating are introduced thus: "Rough Johnson, the great moralist professed / Right honestly, 'he liked an honest hater.'" <sup>13</sup> By stanza vii of Canto XVI Byron authenticates the possibility of ghosts in Norman Abbey by Johnson's argument for their existence.<sup>14</sup> Thus Byron's poetry as well as his letters, journals, and conversation reveal that Johnson is so often in his mind as to prepare us for his having almost as high an opinion of Johnson as of Pope.

11 *A Journal of the Conversations of Lord Byron with the Countess of Blessington* a new ed, revised and annotated (London: R. Bentley 1893) 292. Lady Blessington also mentions Byron's affecting "a sort of Johnsonian tone" tête-à-tête and remarks on the similarity to Johnson of his being superstitious (20, 37).

12 Iris Origo *The Last Attachment: The Story of Byron and Teresa Guiccioli* (London: Murray 1949) 197. *A Narrative of Lord Byron's Last Journey to Greece* by Teresa's brother, Count Pietro Gamba (London: n.p. 1825) contains this: "Lord Byron . . . generally had three or four books lying before him, of which he

read first one and then the other . . ." (292–93). Elizabeth F. Boyd in 1958 (see fn. 10 above) p 158, gave Hunt's observations, along with a very perceptive analysis of the importance of Byron's reading.

13 *Anecdotes of Dr. Johnson . . .* by Mrs Piozzi, in *Johnsoniana* ed Robina Napier (London: G. Bell 1899) 37.

14 Even in so unlikely a place as the late *Island*, a fictional reworking of the *Bounty* mutiny, he remembers (Canto I, line 101) Johnson's belief that brandy is a drink for heroes (*LSJ* III 381) but wrongly attributes this to Burke.

In a long letter dated March 15 1820, containing "Some Observations upon an Article in *Blackwood's Magazine*," Byron expresses the highest respect for the "opinions of that truly great man" Johnson, even while, with "deference" and "humility," disagreeing with that critic's approval of Milton's use of blank verse rather than rhyme (*LJ* IV 490). In his first *Letter* to [John Murray], *on the Rev. Wm. L. Bowles's Strictures on the Life and Writings of Pope*, written later the same year, he is bothered by Johnson's animadversions on Pope. However, "Johnson strips many a leaf from every laurel. Still Johnson's is the finest critical work extant, and can never be read without instruction and delight" (*LJ* V 560, n.).

In a letter of November 1821 to his classically-minded friend Hobhouse he linked Johnson with Pope as models: "surely *your* admiration cannot surpass *mine* of them, and had they lived now, I would not have published a line of anything I have ever written."<sup>15</sup> Hunt reports that, during their association in Italy, Boswell's *Johnson* was the only book they admired in common. Byron admitted "Johnson would have awed him, he treated lords with so much respect." Hunt found that Byron also liked "to imitate Johnson, and say 'Why, Sir,' in a high mouthing way, rising and looking round him."<sup>16</sup>

Knowing that his friends shared his admiration of Johnson, he took mischievous advantage of that moralist's reputation in defending the first two cantos of *Don Juan* against charges of indecency made by Murray's "Utican Senate" (*LJ* IV 343): "as to the indecency, do, pray, read in Boswell what *Johnson*, the sullen moralist, says of Prior and Paulo Purgante" (*LSJ* III 192). In further justification he gleefully exhibits two coarse expressions in Johnson's own *London* (*LJ* IV 381).

Later he uses Johnson to more serious purpose in defending himself from his clerical friend Hodgson's censure of "depraved heroes," "profligates adorned with courage, and rendered interesting by all the warmth of tenderness and love," who "cannot but have had the worst effect on the minds of the young. . . ." In rebuttal Byron quotes, with some alteration, from Dryden in Johnson's life of that poet that, to arouse pity and fear, the heroic criminal, "if he be represented too great an offender, will *not be pitied*; if altogether innocent his punishment will be unjust."<sup>17</sup>

There may be more sophistry in his defense to Medwin of his widely maligned *Cain*. If the great moralist redeems Milton from any censure "for putting impiety and even blas-

<sup>15</sup> *Correspondence* II 205, *LSJ* III 19 and note 3.

<sup>16</sup> *Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries* . . . 2nd ed (London: H. Colburn 1828) I III.

<sup>17</sup> *LJ* V 284 and note. Three months later he again

refers (*LJ* V 332) to this life of Dryden in complimenting Moore on *Lalla Rookh's* dramatization for the court in Berlin



phemy into the mouths of his infernal spirits," and if Goethe also does so without blame, why should Byron be condemned for the opinions of his Lucifer and Cain? He assures Medwin with mock seriousness of a good conclusion to *Don Juan*: "depend upon it, my moral will be a good one; not even a Dr. Johnson would be able to find a flaw in it!"<sup>18</sup>

Byron does not often refer to criticism by Johnson of specific authors. In Canto III of *Don Juan* (stanza xci) he alludes to Johnson's unflattering account in his life of Milton of how this poet: "Was whipped in college—a harsh sire—odd spouse," and then obviously recollecting his own matrimonial debacle—"For the first Mrs. Milton left his house."

More significant is his telling George Bancroft in Genoa "that Johnson's preface to Shakespeare contained the most correct judgment of Shakespeare; that it expressed his opinion of Shakespeare exactly."<sup>19</sup> This late admission is no doubt more revealing of his genuine convictions than his frequent depreciation of Shakespeare for shock effect, and it goes along much better with the intimate acquaintanceship with Shakespeare's works which is revealed by Byron's frequent quotation of them.

Far more important than any of these miscellaneous critical allusions was the influence which Johnson had on Byron's critical theory and practice. It was Byron's disappointment with Moore's *Lalla Rookh* which seems to have put him to a serious reconsideration of his critical standards, for Moore was not only a close friend but a poet in whom he had previously had unbounded confidence. The result was that he decided that "Scott, Southey, Wordsworth, Moore, Campbell, I—are all . . . upon a wrong revolutionary poetical system . . ." (*LJ* IV 169). He had compared their works with those of Pope, "and I was really astonished . . . at the ineffable distance in point of sense, harmony, effect and even *Imagination*, passion, and *Invention*, between the little Queen Anne's man, and us of the Lower Empire."

This statement sank Byron as a critic below contempt during the nineteenth century, and he did not really recover critical stature during the early twentieth-century reaction against Romanticism. Yet such a critical approach made sense from the viewpoint of Regency Classicism, as was indicated by the strong approval of William Gifford, whom Byron rightly regarded as an exemplar of eighteenth-century classical taste (*LJ* IV 169, note 1). Actually

<sup>18</sup> Medwin's *Conversations* 130, 164. Notice that Byron defends "himself with a variety of illustrations, precedents, and apt quotations"; as in *Trelawny's Recollections of the Last Days of Shelley and Byron* (London: Henry Frowde 1906) 17–18, he is described as "disputing Shelley's propositions, not by denying

their truth as a whole, but in parts," and by "subtle questions. . . ."

<sup>19</sup> *His Very Self and Voice: Collected Conversations of Lord Byron* ed E. J. Lovell (NY: Macmillan 1934) 293.

there may be more merit to such a critical stance than has yet been allowed, but only the use Byron made of Johnson in arriving at it is pertinent here.

Since Byron hated systematizing, he did not write a consecutive exposition of critical principles, but revealed a good deal of what he believed in responding to the criticism of others. The reply to *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* is an *apologia pro vita sua*, also involving a defense of Pope, in which mention of Johnson is peripheral to the main thesis. It seems to him a sufficient justification of Pope to alter slightly a passage from near the end of Johnson's life of Pope: "Must we repeat the question of Johnson, '*If Pope is not a poet, where is poetry to be found?*'" (*LJ* iv 493). In this "apology" Byron expresses regret for writing in what he admits to be a vicious style (that is, the Romantic) but takes pride in not denigrating his poetic predecessors, especially Pope, whose early *Essay on Criticism* he contrasts with Keats's attack on Pope in "Sleep and Poetry," much to the disadvantage of Keats.<sup>20</sup>

Soon he was drawn into further controversy about Pope in both a first and a second letter on *Bowles's Strictures on the Life and Writings of Pope*. He later told Medwin, "I have been reading 'Johnson's Lives,' a book I am very fond of. I look upon him as the profoundest of critics, and had occasion to study him when I was writing to Bowles."<sup>21</sup> Since he had earlier alluded to Johnson's *London, Vanity of Human Wishes, Irene*, "Prologue at the Opening of Drury Lane Theatre," *Rasselas*, several of his *Lives of the English Poets*, and his edition of Shakespeare, as well as to Johnson's opinions in Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson* and on numerous occasions to those in his *Life of Samuel Johnson*, Byron obviously had considerable familiarity with Johnson's critical conceptions before he studied the *Lives* for the purpose of reconsidering his own. Consequently it is hardly surprising to discover that the approach of a critic he admired so much and referred to so often played an important part in this reconsideration.

After some preliminaries in his first *Letter* to Bowles, Byron expresses indignation at charges of immorality made against Pope on grounds less substantial than could be raised—not only against most men of the world—but even against those making the charges, or—still worse—upon grounds hinted at but unrevealed, of the sort from which Byron himself

20 He lists Johnson among poets popular in their own time in refutation of the contrary conviction that great poets are not popular expressed by Wordsworth in his "Essay Supplementary to the Preface" to his

poems of 1815 (*LJ* iv 488), and also lists him (494) among the followers of Pope.

21 *Medwin's Conversations* 198.

had suffered.<sup>22</sup> This judgment of Pope according to a standard of morality which does not in fact prevail in society leads Byron to his well-known tirade against *cant*:

The truth is, that in these days the grand '*primum mobile*' of England is cant; cant political, cant poetical, cant religious, cant moral; but always *cant*, multiplied through all the varieties of life. (*LJ* v 542)

He defines *cant* as "a thing of words, without the smallest influence upon human actions . . .," i.e., as hypocritical pretense. It does nothing but confuse genuine morality with mere "verbal decorum."<sup>23</sup>

It is remarkable that nobody seems to have noticed the similarity of Byron's detestation of *cant* to Dr Johnson's. Johnson had defined *cant* in four ways in his *Dictionary*, two of which are especially important to Byron: "A particular form of speaking peculiar to some certain class or body of men" (what would be today called "jargon"), and "a whining pretension to goodness, in formal or affected terms" (*LSJ* IV 221, note 1). An illustration in Johnson's own words of the first of these meanings is that, in speaking of professions, he told Mrs Piozzi, "Scorn . . . to put your behavior under the dominion of canters; never think it clever to call physic a mean study, or law a dry one. . . ."<sup>24</sup> An illustration of the second occurs when Johnson convinces Boswell that he could not really have been much disturbed by political events of which he disapproved since he admits that he "neither ate less, nor slept less." Johnson: "My dear friend, clear your *mind* of cant." "You may *talk* in this manner; it is a mode of talking in Society: but don't *think foolishly*" (*LSJ op cit.*).<sup>25</sup> Since Johnson repeatedly used the term *cant* in its various meanings in works of his referred to by Byron, obviously Byron would be familiar with Johnson's usage.

22. Later (*LJ* v 570), remarking that Bowles had engaged in personalities against another disputant in the matter, Byron justified his severity by citing Johnson's altercation with Dr Percy, "Sir, there is an end of politeness—we are to be as rude as we please—Sir, you said that I was short-sighted." Byron's version is somewhat altered from *LSJ* III 273.

23. He also defends the morality of Pope's using coarse language against Lady Mary Wortley Montagu by referring again (*LJ* v 565) to those two passages in Johnson's *London* as being at least as coarse though written by a great moralist.

24. *Anecdotes* 100; *LSJ* IV 221 and note 1. Johnson also refers to the "cant of criticism," and "the cant of

poetry"; see *The Rambler*, nos. 123 and 140, and to "fugitive cant" in the "Preface" to the *Dictionary*.

25. *Anecdotes* 39: "and when I have said something as if the wickedness of the world gave me concern, he would cry out aloud against canting, and protest that he thought there was very little gross wickedness in the world, and still less of extraordinary virtue." Compare Byron: "There is much more folly than vice in the world. The appearance of the latter is often assumed by the . . . former, and people pass for being vicious who are only foolish. I have seen such examples . . . that it makes one rather incredulous as to the extent of actual vice . . ." (*Blessington Conversations* 226).

However, Byron tends to identify *cant* as professional jargon with *cant* as "whining pretension to goodness, in formal or affected terms." Thus, in discussing in Greece his problem with Stanhope and the Benthamites, he told William Parry, "By the cant of Religious pretenders I have already deeply suffered, and now I know what the cant of pretended reformers and of philanthropists amounts to."<sup>26</sup> The pretense to virtue which is behind the technical jargon of philanthropy as well as of piety is what provokes his disgust.

*Cant* is a very important conception to Byron. He was later to admit to Lady Blessington that "there are but two sentiments to which I am constant—a strong love of liberty, and a detestation of cant. . . ."<sup>27</sup> These two sentiments are not unrelated. *Cant* is to him the verbal cloak by means of which the truth about the cruel and self-aggrandizing relationships between man and man and man and woman—relationships which destroy liberty—are concealed, made to seem respectable, and in this way perpetuated.

He on all occasions professes a detestation of what he calls *cant*; says it will banish from England all that is pure and good; and that while people are looking after the shadow, they lose the substance of goodness; he says, that the best mode left for conquering it is to expose it to *ridicule*, the only *weapon* . . . that the English climate cannot rust.

Obviously he saw *cant* as a cover for hypocrisy; and it was against hypocrisy that all his mockeries were directed, "for he looked upon that as the gangrene of the soul, the cause of most of the evils that afflict society. . . ."<sup>28</sup>

He was convinced that the new squeamishness that was excluding many subjects from the English stage, instead of being an improvement in morality, was "of a lower tone of the moral sense, and foreign to the majestic and confident virtue of the golden age of our country." "Shame flies from the heart, and takes refuge in the lips." The evil is that "we begin by deceiving others and we end by deceiving ourselves; so that in the upshot, we imagine ourselves virtuous, because we have practiced telling the world we are so." He insists that it is "my respect for morality that makes me so indignant against its vile substitute cant. . . ." He has such a detestation of it and such a fear of being thought to yield to its outcry "that I make myself appear rather *worse* than better than I am."<sup>29</sup>

26 Parry (see fn 5 above) 106. Byron did sometimes use *cant* as meaning jargon with little reference to moral pretense, as when he writes of the *cant* of art: *LJ* IV 113.

27 Blessington *Conversations* 352.

28 Blessington *Conversations* 12; Teresa Guiccioli *My Recollections of Lord Byron* . . . (London: R. Bent-

ley 1869) II 294.

29 *Medum's Conversations* 96; "Conversations of an American with Lord Byron" *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* 45 (Oct 1835) 197-98; Blessington *Conversations* 271, 102.

Turning to Bowles's criticism of Pope's technique, Byron rejects the very notion of "invariable principles of poetry," such as Bowles lays down (*LJ* v 543). Johnson, too, expresses a low opinion of judging by system and himself judged on empirical grounds.<sup>30</sup> Byron detested all systematizing. In *A Second Letter* he refers with disapproval to Hunt's justifying use of "vulgarisms" as making "part of his system!" (*LJ* v 588). Coleridge's "explaining Metaphysics to the nation" had led to Byron's wishing in the "Dedication" of *Don Juan* that "he would explain his Explanation." Wordsworth's *Excursion* is there presented as one absurd "vasty version / Of his new system to perplex the sages." All magisterial criticism is ludicrously denigrated by "poetical commandments" in an obvious parody of the Ten Commandments near the end of Canto I of *Don Juan*. Byron believed that the "sentimental anatomy of Rousseau and Mad<sup>e</sup> de S[tael]" were "far more formidable" enemies to virtue than most verse "because they sap the principles, by *reasoning* upon the *passions*; whereas poetry is itself passion, and does not systematize" (*LJ* v 582).

One of Bowles's "invariable principles" was that the natural is more poetic than the artificial. Byron said he hated "the cant of the love of nature as much as any other."<sup>31</sup> Surely critics of our day would not accept Bowles's argument that nature is inherently superior to any other poetic subject. As an example of high-quality poetic treatment of the artificial Byron refers to the praise by Johnson—"the noblest critical mind which our country has produced"—of Congreve's description of the interior of a great temple as one of the most poetical passages in English literature (*LJ* v 563–64).

Another of Bowles's "invariable principles" is that some literary genres, such as the epic and tragedy, are inherently superior to others and that Pope lacks greatness for writing in inferior genres, such as didactic poetry, essays, epistles, satires. Johnson also had had little respect for this mechanical way of judging, and no doubt he would have agreed with Byron that "the poet is always ranked according to his execution, and not according to his branch of the art" (*LJ* v 553).<sup>32</sup> Byron asks later if Southey and Landor—because they have written epics—are better poets than Burns, whose chief works are in lesser genres: "Tam o'Shanter,"

30 See "Experience and Reason," chapter 1 of Jean H. Hagstrum's *Samuel Johnson's Literary Criticism* (Chicago and London: Univ of Chicago Press 1967). Typical of Johnson's preference of experience to system or theory is his insistence in his "Preface" to Shakespeare—in the teeth of Neoclassical critical theory—that this poet has demonstrated the validity of tragedy and the inutility of the unities, except for that

of action.

31 Blessington *Conversations* 1.

32 Hagstrum 36, sees Johnson as finding "unsatisfactory the tradition of codified rules which he had inherited . . . He was too much aware that literature, produced in part by that 'licentious and vagrant faculty,' the imagination, was material too intractable for the codified rules of the rationalists."

a *tale*, the Cotter's Saturday Night, a descriptive sketch; some others in the same style: the rest are songs. So much for the *rank* of his *productions*; the *rank* of *Burns* is the very first of his art" (*LJ* v 560).<sup>33</sup>

Byron stoutly defends didactic poetry on the Johnsonian grounds that ethical poetry is the highest genre. As he grew older, Byron came to resemble Johnson in being more and more suspicious of fiction:

If the essence of poetry must be a *lie*, throw it to the dogs, or banish it from your republic, as Plato would have done. He who can reconcile poetry with truth and wisdom, is the only true 'poet' in its real sense, 'the maker,' 'the creator,'—why must this mean the 'liar' the 'feigner,' the 'tale-teller?'<sup>34</sup> (*LJ* v 559–60)

At first this seems a very surprising statement to come from the author of Oriental tales, dramas, a *Vision of Judgment*, and the comic epic *Don Juan*.

However, Byron had first earned fame with a travelogue which described his own grand tour and indeed gave too much of his own personality to the central character for his personal comfort. His tales also sought to portray a particular locale accurately—and indeed he always insisted on that kind of truth—as the dramas did historical events, in addition to reflecting his own personal problems. His *Vision of Judgment*, by giving historically authentic characters to George III, "Junius," Wilkes, and Southey, as well as the traditional conceptions of St Peter, Raphael, and Satan, was surely far more "true" than Southey's sycophantic *Vision* of the judgment of George.

Above all *Don Juan* was, as Byron insisted, an accurate picture of what life was really like in its reversal of Spenser's idealized romance into "fierce loves and faithless wars."

Poets are said to succeed best in fiction; but this I deny; at least I always write best when truth inspires me, and my satires, which are founded on truth, have more spirit than all my other productions, for they were written *con amore*.<sup>35</sup>

It has been noted by the one critic of Byron who has been most perceptive on this relationship that "his temperament . . . was closely akin to that of Samuel Johnson, in its rough

33 In the second *Letter* (*LJ* v 591) Byron also includes Burns among those who achieve "a nobility of thought and of style, open to all stations, and derived partly from talent, and partly from education. . . ."

34 He had written as early as 1817 (*LJ* iv 93), "There

should always be some foundation of fact for the most airy fabric, and pure invention is but the talent of a liar." Johnson defined fiction as "a falsehood, a lie," as well as "the act of feigning or inventing": Hargraves 58.

35 Blessington *Conversations* 242.

common sense, its devotion to the past, its hatred of shrill-voiced radicals and impostors, and its ingrowing skepticism, which tortured his religious longings."<sup>36</sup>

The *Letters* do not profess to be a system of criticism, and in fact as critical documents are confused and lack balance and proportion, but the chief critical notions in them are in harmony with each other as well as with those of Dr Johnson. As adaptations from eighteenth-century critical thought, they are such as one might well expect of Regency Classicism.<sup>37</sup>

Moral as well as social and political considerations are involved in Byron's detestation of cant. In spite of some tongue-in-cheek references to Johnson as a moralist, his respect for that "profoundest of critics" was as a critic of life as well as of literature. The influence upon Byron of the "opinions of that truly great man" on life appeared very early when Byron impressed "Annabella" Milbanke—the future Lady Byron—with a reworking of one of Johnson's more gloomy reflections. "Do you think there is one person here who dares to look into himself?" she reports as "one of his abrupt questions at a party where—in the crowd—I felt that he was the most attractive person. . . ."<sup>38</sup> Obviously this question was suggested by Johnson's statement on first viewing the pleasure garden of Ranelagh: "it went to my heart to consider that there was not one in all that brilliant circle, that was not afraid to go home and think . . ." (*LSJ* III 199).

In Canto V stanza ci of *Don Juan* Byron humorously professes to embrace the *nil admirari* idealized by Horace and approved by Pope, but his more probable opinion at that time is suggested by his question in the concluding couplet: "but had *none admired* / Would Pope have sung, or Horace been inspired?" In a footnote to this stanza Coleridge cites Johnson's interpretation of Horace's admonition: "Admiration and love are like being intoxicated with champagne; judgment and friendship are like being enlivened" (*LSJ* II 360). After all Byron had written in *Don Juan* II: clxxix that "the best of Life is but intoxication,"

36 William J. Calvert *Byron: Romantic Paradox* (Chapel Hill: Univ of North Carolina Press 1935) 52. Calvert finds (p 85) that Byron "in his insistence on truth, his suspicion of the imagination, and his praise of the man of the world above the professional [poet]" was following "the broad path blazed by his [eighteenth-century] predecessors," i.e., not just by Johnson.

37 C. T. Goode *Byron as Critic* (Weimar: R. Wagner 1923) sees Byron as basically Romantic in his critical

convictions in spite of his expression of classical opinions, but his evidence for Byron's Romantic beliefs is drawn from before his exile in 1816. He does not allow for a possible development of critical as well as of poetic powers after that date.

38 Ethel C. Mayne *The Life and Letters of Anne Isabella Lady Noel Byron* (NY: Harcourt, Brace 1929) 39.

whether by "Glory, the Grape, Love, Gold"; and an attitude more remote from *nil admirari* can hardly be imagined.

A good deal of his dissipation in Venice was mere defiant bravado. When informed from England that he was reputed to have carried off a young girl from a convent, he indignantly denied the story and declared that he had "been more ravished" himself "than any body since the Trojan war" (*LJ* iv 370). As handsome as he was—famous, titled, reputed to be rich, and with such seductive manners—he was all too attractive to women. In opposition to his reputation as an unscrupulous lady killer, he assured Medwin that he had never seduced a woman.<sup>39</sup> He quotes approvingly—though incorrectly—Johnson's commendation of the "gentleman who having seduced a girl who said 'I am afraid we have done wrong,' replied, 'Yes, *we have* done wrong,'—'for I would not pervert her mind also'" (*LJ* v 577 and note 3).

That his celebration of the intoxicated life in Canto II of *Don Juan* was also bravado is indicated a few months later when—in the early tumult of his affair with the Countess Guiccioli—he found two epitaphs in the Certosa cemetery most appealing: "Martini Luigi / Implora pace" and "Lucrezia Picini / Implora eterna quiete" (*LJ* iv 310). An anonymous American reports Byron's confession at about this time that he shared Johnson's fear of losing his reason, not—as one might expect—his capacity for intoxication. Commenting on the failure of his own marriage and others of free choice, he even unromantically agrees with Johnson that marriages might work out as well if arranged by the Lord Chancellor.<sup>40</sup>

Byron's indignation at restraints upon the vices of the poor by the respectably pious who never interfere with those of the rich goes back to *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* (lines 632–37) and breaks out in Canto X stanza lxxv, when he queries prison reformer Fry why "preach to poor rogues" rather than to licentious George IV and his associates in dissipation. In stanza lxxiii of the same canto he believes "to deny the mob a cordial" such as gin, "which is / Too often all the clothing, meat, or fuel / Good government has left them, seems but cruel." One is reminded of the indignation of Johnson at those who would withhold alms from the poor lest they indulge in tobacco or gin: "And why should they be denied such sweeteners of existence . . . ? [I]t is surely very savage to refuse them every possible avenue to pleasure, reckoned too coarse for our acceptance."<sup>41</sup>

39 *Medwin's Conversations* 67. One woman he is known to have spared was Lady Frances Webster, in an incident reported to Lady Melbourne: in *Lord Byron's Correspondence* i 209.

40 *Conversations of an American* 200, 203.

41 *Piozzi Anecdotes* 37–38. Byron was also very generous in giving alms (as Johnson was), up to half his income according to Guiccioli i 396.



Johnson was far from being secure in his religious faith, feeling that nobody could be certain that he deserved to be saved (*LSJ* III 294–95), and Johnson's insecurity was one cause for Byron's.

The best Christians can never be satisfied of their own salvation. Dr. Johnson died like a coward, and Cowper was near shooting himself; Hume went off the stage like a brave man, and Voltaire's last moments do not seem to have been clouded by any fears of what was to come.<sup>42</sup>

Johnson believed that "however unhappy any man's existence may be, he yet would rather have it than not exist at all." Byron came to a more melancholy state of mind:

We begin life with the hope of attaining happiness; soon discovering that to be unattainable, we seek pleasure as a poor substitute; but even this eludes our grasp, and we end by desiring repose, which death alone can give.<sup>43</sup>

Consequently he went to Greece at last, if not seeking death, yet very willing to die, instead of fighting death until almost the end as Johnson did.<sup>44</sup>

In spite of the contrast between their political beliefs, the Tory scholar shared a "love of liberty" with the Whig bard, though Johnson detested making liberty a party cry. Johnson had once proposed as a toast, "here's to the next insurrection of the negroes in the West Indies!" (*LSJ* III 200). Byron burst out in his "Detached Thoughts" of 1821: "But there is *no* freedom, even for *Masters*, in the midst of slaves: it makes my blood boil to see the thing" (*LJ* V 451).

Though Johnson supported legitimate authority he was as violently opposed to unjust oppression as Byron himself: "*if the abuse be enormous, Nature will rise up, and claiming her original rights, overturn a corrupt political system*" (*LSJ* I 424). A pious Christian holding such sentiments would surely have approved of Byron's attempt to free the enslaved Christian Greeks from their corrupt Mohammedan masters.

Byron had had Johnson frequently in mind from the beginning to near the end of his career. He was especially influenced by Johnson as a critic, not only as a critic of literature but of life. He seems to have learned from Johnson his "detestation of cant," and—while he appears to have needed no instructor in his "love of liberty"—even in that respect he resembled the man he called the "profoundest of critics."

University of Massachusetts, Amherst

42. *Medwin's Conversations* 79.

43. Boswell *Journal of a Tour* 276; *Blessington Conversations* 308.

44. Julius Millingen *Memoirs of the Affairs of Greece* . . . (London: J. Rodwell 1831) 119, reports that Byron

told him of coming to Greece to die. Johnson's struggle for life nearly to the end is detailed by Sir John Hawkins *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (London 1787) ed and abridged Bertram H. Davis (NY: Macmillan 1961).

The New York Public Library  
*Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations*

RECENT EXHIBITIONS

The Central Building  
Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street

ASPECTS OF JEWISH LIFE IN COLONIAL NEW YORK: A small exhibition of published materials on the subject, such as articles, correspondence, and portraits in books, and a selection of seventeenth-century works printed in Amsterdam, an important center of Hebrew printing, which the earliest Jewish immigrants may have brought with them when they came to this country; mid-March through September 30 1976. ROOM 84

MAPS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION—THE SECOND YEAR, 1776—THE NEW YORK ARENA: A Bicentennial exhibition of original maps: a plan of the Battle of Fort Washington, published in Nuremberg, in 1777; a map of the "Engagement on the White Plains," published in New York in 1796; a plan of "New York Island," showing the "position of the American and British armies before, at, and after the engagement on the [Brooklyn] Heights," published in New York in 1776; and a plan of the city of New York, by David Grim, within the palisades erected in 1745 to show the "progress and extent of the great fire of 1776," published in 1866; January 6 through May 10 1976. FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

NAMES ON THE LAND—SELECTED REGIONAL GAZETTEERS: Regional gazetteers for eight countries—Nigeria, India, Japan, El Salvador, Russia, Wales, France, and Great Britain, and a gazetteer of the rivers and lakes of the world; May 11 through September 27 1976.

FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

THE AMERICAN IDEA: DISCOVERY & SETTLEMENT, REVOLUTION & INDEPENDENCE: The Library's major Bicentennial exhibition. On view are many of the most important American documents in the holdings of The Research Libraries, including: the "Olive Branch" manuscript, in which members of the Continental Congress petitioned George III, in 1775, for a peaceful settlement of differences; Jefferson's draft of the Declaration of Independence; the engrossed copy of the Bill of Rights, the handwritten copy sent to the states for their ratification; Washington's manuscript of his "Farewell Address"; and many other manuscripts, illustrative materials, and printed books. Accompanying the documents in the Second Floor Gallery are original portraits owned by the Library, including Duplessis' pastel of Benjamin Franklin (1783), a full-length portrait of Washington (ca. 1800), by Gilbert Stuart, and Samuel F. B. Morse's portrait of the Marquis de Lafayette, painted from sittings in 1825; March 16 through July 9 1976.

MAIN LOBBY AND SECOND FLOOR GALLERY

**SHIPS OF THE DESERT:** An exhibition illustrating the history of the camel: its earliest domestication, its place in Bedouin life, its status in Arabic poetry, scripture, and proverbs, its religious value, its depiction in Western art, and even the U.S. Army's attempt to use the camel in the American southwest in the 1850s, in materials drawn from all over the Library, but especially the Oriental Division; January 19 through April 30 1976. SECOND FLOOR CENTRAL CORRIDOR

**NEW YORK: PORTAL TO AMERICA:** The immigrant experience in New York City from 1890 to the 1950s is illustrated in materials from the Manuscripts and Archives Division, including photographs and letters; January 15 through June 1976. SECOND FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

**PRINTMAKING IN AMERICA:** A selection of important works from the holdings of the Prints Division, to show the development of American printmaking during the past two hundred years. Artists include Paul Revere, Amos Doolittle, Asher B. Durand, J. Alden Weir, John Twachtman, James A. McN. Whistler, Mary Cassatt, John Sloan, Reginald Marsh, and Robert Motherwell; April 1 through June 30 1976. THIRD FLOOR PRINT GALLERY

**VIEWS OF NIAGARA FALLS:** Engravings and lithographs by European and American artists from the seventeenth century to the 1880s, depicting Niagara Falls from the American and the Canadian sides, in summer and winter; through April 1976. STOKES GALLERY, THIRD FLOOR

**"TEIKAN NO ZU":** A seventeenth-century illustrated Japanese manuscript, in twelve volumes, with painted covers, from the Spencer Collection; March through May 1976.

THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

**INDEPENDENCE: 1770-1850:** A literary panorama to celebrate the Bicentennial illustrated by first editions, manuscripts, and portraits of those writers who labored for an independent American language and literature; November 17 1975 through September 17 1976.<sup>†</sup>

ROOM 318 (BERG COLLECTION)

**UNITED STATES POSTAGE STAMPS**

MAIN LOBBY

An almost complete collection of United States postal issues and airmail stamps, 1847-1926. Permanent exhibition.

**WALT WHITMAN**

THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR

The Oscar Lion Collection of books by and about Whitman, including first editions, manuscripts, letters, portraits, and memorabilia. Permanent exhibition.

**WASHINGTON IRVING**

THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR

Selections from the Seligman and Hellman collections of Irvingiana consisting of first editions, manuscripts, sketchbooks, etc. Permanent exhibition.

**AMERICAN VIEWS**

THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

A selection of prints from the I. N. Phelps Stokes Collection. Permanent exhibition.

<sup>†</sup> Catalogue available (\$7.50)

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY AT LINCOLN CENTER  
 The Library & Museum of the Performing Arts  
 111 Amsterdam Avenue  
*Shelby Cullom Davis Museum*

FREDERICK FEHL: PHOTOGRAPHER OF THE PERFORMING ARTS: Black-and-white photographs capturing the artistry and drama of the performing arts in a variety of media, the majority of them in ballet, including the New York City Ballet and the Ballets Russes, as well as in opera and theatre, and portraits of musicians and composers; March 4 through May 29 1976.

AMSTERDAM GALLERY

50 YEARS OF DESIGN: THE YALE SCHOOL OF DRAMA / THE SCHOOL OF OENSLAGER: A fiftieth anniversary exhibition celebrates the career of the late Donald Oenslager, the noted theatrical designer and teacher. Renderings of sets and costumes for some of Oenslager's productions, including *The Fabulous Invalid* and the opera *Orfeo*, and models, including one for *The Skin of Our Teeth*, are on view. A second part of the exhibition encompasses those designers, from the 1920s to the present, whom Oenslager has taught or influenced—David Hays, Peter Wexler, Peggy Clark, Santo Loquasto, and many others. Student projects as well as professional work done after leaving the Yale School of Drama are shown; January 19 through mid-April 1976.

MAIN GALLERY

AMERICAN BALLET THEATRE: 36 YEARS OF COSTUME AND SCENIC DESIGN 1940-1976: An important retrospective exhibition of designs for sixty-five ballets produced by ABT, the oldest major ballet company in America. Among the artists represented are Eugene Berman, Oliver Smith, Alexander Benois, Marc Chagall, Boris Aronson, Rouben Ter-Arutunian, Ming Cho Lee (his model for *Leaves Are Fading* is shown), and Oliver Messel; the works are drawn from the artists' own collections and others around the world; April 28 through July 24 1976.

PLAZA GALLERY AND MAIN GALLERY

RUTH PAGE: "BALLET IS A WORLD APART": An exhibition honoring the distinguished American dancer, choreographer, and animateur of the art of dancing, with items from her papers in the Dance Collection, including letters, notebooks, photographs, scrapbooks, posters, programs, and original stage and set designs. The materials relate to her association and collaboration with artists including George Balanchine, Lincoln Kirstein, Margot Fonteyn, Rudolf Nureyev, Erik Bruhn, Isamu Noguchi, Antoni Clavé, Eugene Berman, Darius Milhaud, Jacques Ibert, André Delfau, Georges Wakhevitch, Leonor Fini, Alexander Calder, and Blanche Yurka; February 19 through May 7 1976.

VINCENT ASTOR GALLERY

A PERFORMING ARTS SALUTE TO THE BICENTENNIAL: The founding of the United States as depicted in stage, screen, and television productions, including a display of photographs of historical personages as portrayed by actors, and programs, scripts, and other memorabilia; mid-January through June 1976.

THEATRE COLLECTION, READING ROOM

THE CORNELL-McCLINTIC ROOM: Original drawings by Al Frueh, caricaturist for the *New Yorker*, of Cornell and McClintic productions; window cards; portraits, photographs of Guthrie McClintic and Katharine Cornell, and scenes from their shows; on permanent view.

THEATRE COLLECTION

COPLAND FOR THE THEATRE: An exhibition honoring Aaron Copland, the eminent New York-born composer, on his seventy-fifth birthday, and focusing on his work for the various branches of the theatrical world—his ballet, opera, and film scores, incidental music for plays, and music for radio and television. Several of the composer's original manuscripts are on view, including the pencil score of the early, unproduced ballet *Grogh*, composed in Paris from 1922 to 1925. Documents, photographs, letters, and programs are also on display; November 14 1975 through June 30 1976.

MUSIC DIVISION

ISADORA DUNCAN: An Isadora Duncan costume and other memorabilia from the Irma Duncan Collection; on permanent view.

DANCE COLLECTION

## SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE

103 West 135th Street

PAUL ROBESON (1898–1976): Playbills, sheet music, programs, photographs, and other memorabilia on the life of the great actor, singer, athlete, and civil libertarian; through June 1976.

On permanent display in the main reading room: a varied collection of West and Central African art, including masks, carved statues, head pieces, sculpture, and a very unusual two-faced carving—an Ekoi Janus head; paintings and sculptures by Afro-American and African artists; and examples of weapons from the Eric de Kolb Collection of African Arms.

## DONNELL LIBRARY CENTER

20 West 53rd Street

A Bicentennial craft show of quilts and rugs made by New York State Craftsmen, Inc; March 20 through April 20 1976. "Rare Books, Americana": Sculptured pieces to resemble early American titles, by Stella Waitzkin; March 22 through April 10 1976. The past preserved in photographs of New York State and New York City by Linda Stanton; April 12 through May 1 1976. Twenty-five original pen-and-ink drawings of old New York by William Hemp; May 3 through 15 1976. Linoleum block prints on Bicentennial themes, by Hidé Oshiro; May 1 through 31 1976. Paintings and drawings by Pauline Krewer; May 17 through 31 1976. "Great Words of American History": Original calligraphy by the Society of Scribes; June 1 through July 5 1976.

MAIN READING ROOM

Contemporary crafts with Bicentennial themes drawing on the history, customs, and styles of past and present; March 20 through April 20 1976.

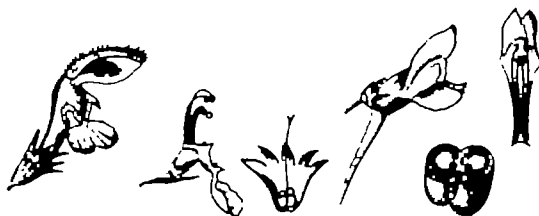
CENTRAL CHILDREN'S ROOM

COUNTY CULLEN REGIONAL BRANCH  
104 West 136th Street

Paintings, African dance masks, and sculpture by the Harlem artist Morris Dawson, whose work represents a blend of African and American art; April 3 through 28 1976. "The Senior Artist": Paintings, sculpture, and arts and crafts by senior citizens of Harlem; May 1 through 26 1976.

HUDSON PARK BRANCH  
10 Seventh Avenue South

"The Universe, the World, and Man": An artist's presentation of a study of the stars, in works by Petra Cintron; April 26 through May 24 1976.



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